

## BOETHIUS

Illo Humphrey, Ph. D.  
Mediaevalist | Musicologist | Proto-Philologist



## Boethius.

His Influence on the European Unity of Culture:  
from Alcuin of York (†804)  
to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)

Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH

Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH  
Nordhausen | Deutschland  
2012

Einbandsbild | Cover | Couverture:

**BOETHIUS**

(\**ca.* 480 – †*ca.* 524),

*De institutione arithmetica libri duo* | *De institutione musica libri quinque*,

Cambridge University Library, Ii.3.12, f. 61v<sup>o</sup> (detail),

Origin: Canterbury, England, Cathedral Priory of Christ Church, *ca.* 1130 •

**BOETIUS:**

« † Consul et eximie scrutator phylosophyæ • Vt uideat uocum discrimina per monochordum •  
Iudicat aure sonum • percurrans indice neruum • »

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

- (1) Margaret T. Gibson, Lesley Smith, Joseph Ziegler (eds.),  
*Codices Boethiani: a Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius*,  
Vol. I: *Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland*,  
(Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, XXV),  
London (Warburg Institute | University of London), 1995, cf. p. 42 •
- (2) Paul Binski, Stella Panayotova (eds.), *The Cambridge Illuminations:  
Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*,  
Turnhout (Brepols), 2005, Nr. 144, p. 302-305 •

Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR  
Mediaevalist | Musicologist | Proto-Philologist

# BOETHIUS

(\*Rome, *ca.* 480 – †Pavia, *ca.* 524)

His Influence  
on the European Unity of Culture:  
from Alcuin of York (†804)  
to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)

Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH  
Nordhausen | Deutschland  
2012

Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek  
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in  
der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische  
Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH  
D-99734 Nordhausen 2012  
ISBN 978-3-88309-603-2

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS   ACRONYMS   SPECIAL TERMS	6
INTRODUCTION	7
LATIN STENOGRAPHY   CRITICAL GLOSSARY   BIBLIOGRAPHY	15
Bibliography:	
• BOETHII <i>Opera omnia</i>	16
• BOETHII Prosopographia	21
• BOETHII Hagiographia	28
Prologue : BOETHIUS. Powerful Bridge between Antiquity and the Middle Ages	41
Chapter 1: BOETHIUS and Alcuin of York	49
Chapter 2: BOETHIUS and Amalarius Symphosius Metensis	61
Chapter 3: BOETHIUS and Charles II “the Bald”	71
Chapter 4: BOETHIUS and Iohannes Scottus Eriugena	79
Chapter 5: BOETHIUS and the Cognitive Process ( <i>De musica</i> I, 1)	91
Chapter 6: BOETHIUS and Aurelianus Reomensis	113
Chapter 7: BOETHIUS and Hucbaldus Elnonensis	119
Chapter 8: BOETHII <i>Consolatio Philosophiae</i>	137
Chapter 9: BOETHIUS and Hrotsvitha Gandersheimensis	157
Chapter 10: (A) BOETHIUS and Gerbertus Aureliacensis	167
(B) BOETHIUS and Abbo Floriacensis	171
(C) BOETHIUS and Notker Labeo seu Teutonicus	172
Chapter 11: BOETHIUS and Fulbertus Carnotensis	175
Chapter 12: BOETHIUS and Theodoricus Carnotensis	179
Epilogue: THE LEGACY OF BOETHIUS	187
Bibliography: BOETHIUS AND THE LIBERAL ARTS	195
INDEX (Manuscripts):	219
INDEX (General):	226
INDEX (Greek):	232
INDEX ( <i>Descriptions</i> ):	234
DEDICATION:	235
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:	237
SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY (15-III-2016):	238
NOTITIA BREVIS   ABSTRACTS (15-III-2016):	239-245

**ABBREVIATIONS | ACRONYMS | SPECIAL TERMS:**

- a. D.** → anno Domini  
**AASS** → *Acta Sanctorum*  
**B. m.** → Bibliothèque municipale  
**BAV** → Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
**BBKL** → Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon  
**BCE** → Before the Christian Era  
**BHL** → *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*  
**BnF** → Bibliothèque nationale de France  
**CCCM** → *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*  
**CCSL** → *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*  
**CE** → Christian Era  
**cf.** → *confer, conferre*, compare, see  
**CNRS** → Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (France)  
**CSEL** → *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*  
**CSHB** → *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*  
**DACL** → *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*  
**e. g.** → *exempli gratia* (for example)  
**ed. | eds.** → editor | editors  
**ex.** → *exeunte* [*saeculo*] (end of the century)  
**i. e.** → *id est* (that is to say)  
**IMM** → Institute of Medieval Music (Ottawa, Canada)  
**in.** → *ineunte* [*saeculo*] (beginning of the century)  
**infra** → further down in the text (below)  
**ISBN** → International Standard Book Number (UK, Gordon Foster, 1966)  
**MGH** → *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*  
**O.P.** → Ordo Prædicatorum (Order of Santo Domingo de Guzmán | †1221)  
**O.S.B.** → Ordo Sancti Benedicti Nursiae (Order of San Benedetto da Norcia | †ca. 543)  
**OUP** → Oxford University Press  
**P. L.** → *Patrologia cursus completus. Series latina*  
**passim** → everywhere  
**RISM** → *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*  
**supra** → further up in the text (above)  
**T. | t.** → Tome | tome (Part | Volume)  
**TML** → *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*

## INTRODUCTION

[0] **BOETHIUS ~ VITAL STATISTICS | PROSOPOGRAPHY:** Anicius Manlius [Torquatus] Severinus Boethius, descendant of a 4th-century Christian family, the Anicii, was born in Rome around the year 480, and died under torture “*in agro Calventiano*” just on the outskirts of the city of Pavia in Northern Italy around the year 524. His father Flavius Narius Manlius Boethius (or Flavius Nonius Arius Manlius Boethius), was *senator* and *praefectus Augustalis* (Prefect of Egypte) in 475-476, and, according to the consular diptych (a. D. 487) of Flavius Narius Manlius Boethius, today conserved in Italy in the Musei d’Arte e Storia (i Civici Musei) of Brescia, the father was also *uir clarissimus et inluster ex praefecto praetorio praefectus urbi secundo consul ordinarius et patricius* (A. F. Gori, *Thesaurus vetrum diptychorum consularium...*, Vol. I, p. 182). The consular diptych of Flavius Narius Manlius Boethius is the oldest and most important known monument in the prosopography of Manlius Severinus Boethius. Orphan at an early age, Boethius became the adopted son of Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus (†ca. 525), and later as an adult his son-in-law, having married one of Symmachus’ three daughters, Rusticana, with whom he had two sons: Symmachus and Boethius<sup>0</sup>.

[1] **BOETHIUS ~ HUMANITAS:** Having received from his step-father Symmachus a perfect *humanitas* or *eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*<sup>1</sup>, Boethius acquired in all respects the stature of ὅλως σοφός (wholly learned Man–University), capable of conducting the disciple from the degree zero of knowledge to the highest level of wise civilization management (ἡ Φιλοσοφία) and general culture (ἡ Παιδεία), including the four cardinal double-virtues of the Supreme ethical-moral divine and human Good, that is to say in Greek τὰ ἀγαθὰ• θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα: ἡ φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια (wisdom and hygiene), ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ κάλλος (moderation and beauty),

<sup>0</sup> Illo Humphrey, “Boèce: l’homme, la carrière, le destin, prosopographie, hagiographie, culte et vénération”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, Préliminaire VI, p. 49-112, Sections 3-7: *La Prosopographie de Boèce*, p. 54-74.

<sup>1</sup> *Humanitas* (complete and thorough general culture): Marcus Tullius Cicero, \*106 BCE – †43 BCE, *De oratore* I, 71; III,32 [127]; *Eruditio institutioque in bonas artes* (instruction and fundamental general culture in the good [liberal] arts): Aulus Gellius, \*125 – †ca. 185, *Noctes atticae* XIII, 17.

ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς (justice and power), ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος (courage and riches)<sup>2</sup>. This means that Boethius was capable of guiding the disciple all the way from the principle of the *substantia numeri* (philosophy of numbers and proportions) to the highest virtues of the *summa bona diuina humanaque* (highest divine and human Good). The *opera omnia* of Boethius imposes itself then as a model of fundamental and pedagogical research both in the realm of the cognitive process as well as in that of the seven disciplines of the *Liberal Arts* (ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία | αἱ ἐλευθέριοι τέχναι, etc.): *ars arithmetica*, *ars musica*, *ars geometrica*, *ars astronomica*, *ars grammatica*, *ars dialectica*, *ars rhetorica*. Boethius led in all respects an exemplary career as philosopher, scientist, proto-philologist, scholar, statesman, and public administrator, successfully attaining all the higher echelons of the *cursus honorum* of public life and public office: *Senator*, *Consul ordinarius*, *Patricius*, etc., before being appointed *Magister Officiorum* under the Arian emperor Theodoric (\*454-†526) around the year 522<sup>3</sup>. Boethius, a universal philosopher “a Platone” (according to Plato’s school of thought), is the author of some 21 treatises, four of which were dedicated to the “*quattuor matheseos disciplinae*”: the “*Quadrivium*”. Two of the four were lost at an early date in the 6<sup>th</sup> century so it seems, namely: *De institutione geometrica* and *De institutione astronomica*. Of the two remaining scientific-philosophical Boethian treatises, *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* and *De institutione musica libri quinque*, the *De institutione arithmetica*, of which certain 9<sup>th</sup>-century copies have conserved primitive glosses in Latin stenography, and in uncial script, deserves here a special mention.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ ἀγαθὰ• θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα: Πλάτων, Νόμοι ἢ Νομοθεσίαι (Plato, *Laws or Legislations*) I,VI: 631b-631c, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds grec 1807, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 157v<sup>o</sup>; cf. Henri Omont, (ed.), Facsimile of Paris, BnF, Fonds grec 1807 in 2 Volumes, Paris, 1908; W. C. Greene, *Scholia Platonica*, American Philological Association, Monograph VIII, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., 1938 | reprint, Hildesheim, 1988, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Illo Humphrey, “Boèce: l’homme, la carrière, le destin, prosopographie, hagiographie, culte et vénération”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II - 2006 Boèce* ([Boethius], *Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, 524*): *l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son oeuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, Préliminaire VI, p. 49-112 (Notes: p. 93-112), Subsection 8, *Severinus Boethius dans l’Hagiographie: (Martyre • Culte • Vénération)*, p. 74-91.



[2] **BOETHIUS ~ *DE INSTITUTIONE ARITHMETICA LIBRI DUO*:**

Boethius was the last great Platonic philosopher of Antiquity, and, as indicated above, he was a philosopher of universal scope, having mastered all the multi-disciplinary fundamental concepts for wise, cognitive civilization management and civilization development, that is to say: *humanitas, eruditio institutioque in bonas artes [liberales], variabilis res, [res] quae natura incorporea sunt, substantia numeri, principalitas unitatis, primus et incompositus [numerus], animae generatio, continua proportio superparticularis, cognitio et perceptio, decem categoriae uel decem praedicamenta, medietates, maxima et perfecta symphonia, summa bona diuina et humana uel quattuor virtutes*, etc. Boethius was therefore the rightful heir, *ex asse* (completely, wholly), of the long-standing Greek scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, spanning some 35 generations between **Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμος** (Pythagóras o Sámos, \*ca. 570-†ca. 490 BCE) and **Πρόκλος ὁ Διάδοχος** (Prólkos o Diádochos, \*ca. 412-†ca. 485 CE). The scientific-philosophical heritage of Boethius is best illustrated in no other single work than in, what appears to be, his very first treatise *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*.

The Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, indeed, the most important and the most fundamentally scientific-philosophical treatise of the Boethian output, is in fact an updated and personalized translation, written between the years 500 and 510, of the **Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή** by **Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός**. The oldest known surviving fragment of this treatise is conserved today in Torino, Italy, Biblioteca nazionale, F. IV. 1 Fasciculo 3. Written in uncial script, this fragment is dated from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and belonged to the Bobbio monastery founded by Saint Columbanus around the year 595. In the Bobbio Library Inventory, the Boethian fragment carried the number 41.

The oldest known complete copies of the Boethii *De arithmetica*, are found in five Carolingian manuscripts from the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, namely: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin: 14064, 7183, 13009, 6639, and nouvelle acquisition latine 1614, the oldest and most pertinent of which is latin 14064. Each *codex* contains an annotated copy of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, each belongs to the same coherent family of manuscripts. These five *codices* are most significant, in that they contain a series of unique primitive glosses and commentaries, which seem to indicate that the very first commentator and glossator of this important treatise was non other than the author himself, that is to say Boethius. Indeed, these astonishing

marginal and interlinear glosses recorded in Latin stenography and in clear Latin in the first and second person singular of the present tense, are conserved at the end of the dedicatory Prologue written by the “auctor” (Boethius), addressed to the “probator” (Symmachus)<sup>4</sup>:

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 14064 (9<sup>th</sup> century), f. 2r<sup>o</sup>: 13-18;  
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 7183 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 2v<sup>o</sup>: 18-19, 24-25;  
ed. Illo Humphrey, *Boethii De institutione arithmetica...*, Ottawa, 2007, p. 26: 13-18:

[*De institutione arithmetica* Prologus]

[Libellus I: f. 2]

[13] **N**oui quippe quanto studiosius nostra quam ceterorum bona diligamus ;

*Quia me-um bon-um tu-um es • et tu-um me-um*  
*Quia ego filius tu-us et pater me-us tu •*

*subaud-it qui transmitt-it*    maturos · flauore auri inductas spicas

[14] Recte ergo quasi aureos cereri culmos<sup>•</sup> et maturos ba<sup>c</sup>cho  
prouuis *ini-ci-a nouella*

[15] palmites' sic ad te noui operis rudimenta transmissi ; Tu

*pater-no affec-tu*      **exaltes** *opus istud*    **idest** *prouehendo*

[16] tantum paterna gratia nostrum prouehas munus•' ita et laboris

[17] mei primitias• doctissimo iudic<sup>i</sup>o consecrabis : **Et** non maio

*iudica-bitur* idest *ego*                      idest *tu*

[18] re censebitur auctor merito • quam probator ; *non magis mihi adproba-bitur quam tibi* •

Then, in the self-same *codex*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 14064, f. 37r<sup>o</sup>: 10-12, one discovers another key-gloss written also in the first person singular. This gloss, in uncial script, is found at the beginning of the *De institutione arithmetica* Book II, just

4 The primitive glosses, written by the “auctor” addressed to the “probator”, are also conserved at the end of the Prologue of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* in the 4 following 9<sup>th</sup>-century *codices*: (1) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7183 [Origin: Saint-Denis-en-France (?): 9<sup>th</sup> c., 1<sup>st</sup> half, f. 2v<sup>o</sup>: 4-25 (glosses in Latin stenography); (2) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 13009 [Origin: Corbie (?): 9<sup>th</sup> c., 1<sup>st</sup> half, f. 1v<sup>o</sup>: 11-24 (glosses in Latin); (3) Paris, BnF, nouvelle acquisition latine 1614 [Origin: Saint-Martin of Tours (?): 9<sup>th</sup> c., 1<sup>st</sup> half, f. 2: 1-17 (glosses in Latin); (4) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 6639 [Origin: uncertain]: 9<sup>th</sup> c., middle, f. 71(74): 10-20 to 71v<sup>o</sup> (74v<sup>o</sup>): 1-4 (glosses in Latin); Illo Humphrey, “Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*: Étude proto-philologique”, in *Carmina Philosophiae* n° 14, 2005, p. 57-158, cf. p. 72-86. **Nota bene**: The words recorded in Latin stenography are rendered here in italics; see, *infra*, Latin Stenography | Critical Glossary | Bibliogrpahy, page 15.

after the *Capitula*, and identifies the author, that is to say Boethius himself, by name, rank and function as being the commentator of his own treatise:

---

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 14064 (9<sup>th</sup> century), f. 37r<sup>o</sup>:10-12;  
ed. Illo Humphrey, *Boethii De institutione arithmetica...*, Ottawa, 2007, 98: 10-12:

---

[*De institutione arithmetica* Liber II: Capitula. Liber II: 1] [Libellus V: f. 37]

[10] ANICII MAM/NI\*LII [sic] SEUERINUS BOETIUS

[11] UIR CLARISSIMUS • ET INLUSTRIS EX CONSUL  
ORDINARIUS PATRICIUS LE

[12] GI OPUSCULUM MEUM<sup>5</sup>; *Quemadmodum ad aequali-tatem omnis  
in-aequali-tas reduc-atur •*

This critical proto-philological *princeps* edition, based on the 5 collated manuscripts, renders these unique primitive glosses readable for the first time, and allows the community of Boethian researchers to meditate these glosses at their own pace, then to draw from them the appropriate conclusions. Thus, if it is true that these primitive glosses, conserved at the end of the Prologue in the oldest *codices* containing the *De arithmetica*, were in fact written by the “auctor” himself, Boethius, and addressed to the “probator”, Symmachus, and, that the glosses in uncial

---

<sup>5</sup> This astonishing *subscriptio*, from all evidence, seems to originate from Boethius himself. It is conserved in a very small number of 9<sup>th</sup>-century copies of the *Boethii De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, namely: (1) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 14064, f. 37: 10-12; (2) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7185, cf. *Boethii De institutione arithmetica*: f. 1-40, f. 20v<sup>o</sup>, col. 2: 8-11. In BnF Fonds latin 7185, this *subscriptio* in uncial script is identical to the *subscriptio* in the *codex* Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 37: 10-12, albeit the proper name “MAMNILII...”[sic] is written without *exponctuation* (that is to say without cancellation); (3) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7359, *Boethii De institutione arithmetica*: f. 2-82v<sup>o</sup>, see f. 36r<sup>o</sup>, glosses in lower margin; (4) Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus [i.e. pulpit] XXIX. XX = *Boethii De institutione arithmetica*, f. 1-97: cf. Angelo Maria Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Lavrentianae* tomus secundus, [in-folio], Florentinae, 1775, colonnes 37, 38: “additum fuisse manu paullo recentiori: ‘Severinus Boetius V. C. & inl. ex Cons. Ord. Patricius legi opusculum meum’ ”; cf. G. Schepss, “Subscriptionem in Boethiushandschriften”, in *Blätter für das bayerische Gymnasialschulwesen* 24, 1888, p. 28; J.-Y. Guillaumin, *Boèce. Arithmétique*, Paris, 1995, p. LXIII-LXIV; Illo Humphrey, “Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*: Étude proto-philologique”, in *Carmina Philosophiae* n° 14, 2005, p. 57-158, see p. 87.

script are indeed originally from the stylus of Boethius, this will open up an entirely new approach to modern proto-philological *ecdotic* research (non-normative critical editions), and will lead, hopefully, to the discovery of other important mediaeval texts, whose primitive commentaries and glosses were annotated by the author himself or herself.

[3] **BOETHIUS ~ CONSOLATIO PHILOSOPHIAE:** Shortly after being appointed *Magister Officiorum* under Theodoric, Boethius experienced a radical change of fate (Gr. ἡ εἰμαρμένη: divine providence, destiny), and found himself suddenly in the descending phase of the *Rota Fortunae*, that is to say the *Wheel of Fortune* (*Consolatio Philosophiae* II). Compromised by a series of false accusations directed first against his colleague Albinus, then, after defending Albinus, against himself, Boethius fell into disgrace with the Arian emperor Theodoric shortly after the year 522. He was stripped of all his public offices, honours and dignities, and all his material possessions were confiscated. The earliest prosopographical and hagiographical sources on his life tell us that he was then arrested without trial and incarcerated for two years, during which he “wrote” or “dictated” or “edited” his *opus ultimum* (ultimate work) and best known treatise, *Consolatio Philosophiae*<sup>6</sup>, an autobiographical dialogue between Boethius himself and Dame Philosophy, divided into five books, and written in *prosimetrum* (alternation of prose and poetry). This important work, in which Boethius treats the fundamental subject of the wise management of happiness and suffering through the acquisition of spiritual, ethical-moral, and intellectual knowledge, leading to the *summum bonum*<sup>7</sup>, situates itself in a long tradition of *consolationes*, known as “*wisdom literature*”, of which one of the oldest and finest recorded examples is non other than

---

<sup>6</sup> Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, ed. J. J. O'Donnell, Julia Haig Gaisser, Bryn Mawr, PA, 1990, 2nd ed.; J. C. Relihan, *The Prisoner's Philosophy: Life and Death in Boethius's Consolation*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2007; © <http://wheatoncollege.edu/faculty/joelcrelihan.html>.

<sup>7</sup> *Summa bona diuina humanaque*: Philip E. Phillips, “Boèce, le quardrivium, et la consolation de la philosophie”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II - 2006 Boèce...*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), Volume I, ch. 1, p. 183-201; Illo Humphrey, “Epilogue”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II - 2006 Boèce...*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), Volume II, ch. 21, p. 469-476.

the Old-Testament Book of Job, possibly of Sumerian origin<sup>8</sup>. Shortly after finishing his *Consolatio Philosophiae*, Boethius was unjustly put to death under torture, just as was at the same period his father-in-law Symmachus, as well as the Pope John I, between the years 524 and 526. The oldest prosopographical and hagiographical sources on the death of Boethius are as follows: *Liber pontificalis*<sup>9</sup>, and the *Anonymus Valesianus*, or *Excerpta Valesiana II*, dating between 526 and 550. This text is the most complete and detailed of all the earliest known sources relating the circumstances of the arrest, incarceration and execution of Boethius, giving us the following account:

“Tunc Albinus et Boethius ducti in custodiam ad baptisterium ecclesiae. Rex [i.e. Theodoricus] vero vocavit Eusebium, praefectum urbis, Ticinum et inaudito Boethio protulit in eum sententiam. Quem mox in agro Calventiano, ubi in custodia habebatur, misere fecit occidi. Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi eius creparent, sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur”<sup>10</sup>.

Shortly after the death of Boethius, all his material possessions which had been previously confiscated were restored to his widow Rusticiana, and his two sons: Symmachus and Boethius.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Noah Kramer (1897-1990), *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine “First” in Recorded History*, [original title: *From the Tablets of Sumer*], Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Press), 1956, 1981, see Chapter 15, “Suffering and Submission: The First ‘Job’”, p. 111: <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=10266340>; Ann W. Anstell, *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth*, Ithica (Cornell University Press), 1994.

**Nota bene:** Concerning the genesis of the genre *consolatio*, it is useful to continue to explore the Book of Job, and its possible Sumerian antecedent, and to examine the role it may have played, directly or indirectly, in the conception and elaboration of the *opus ultimum* of Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*; on this subject, see, *infra*, Chapter 8: p. 137-138 (notes 180, 181).

<sup>9</sup> 6th c.: 523 – 526 LV: Iohannes [1er], ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886, Vol. I, p. 275.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the *editio princeps* (first edition) by Henri de Valois, seigneur d’Orcé, *Editio et annotatio excerpta autores ignoti de Constantio Chlora, Constantino Magno et aliis imp.*, Paris, 1636, Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1664; Th. Mommsen (ed.), *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi IX, Chronica minora*, Berlin, 1892, p. 333 85-87, 92; J. Moreau (ed.), Leipzig (Teubner), 1961, p. 24-26, §85-92; revised by V. Velkov (ed.), Leipzig (Teubner), 1968, p. 25, 87; cf. *infra*, p. 150, note 209.

[4] **BOETHIUS ~ HAGIOGRAPHY:** The popular cult and veneration of Boethius seems to have begun at an early date in Northern Italy in the geographical triangle of Pavia [Ticinum, later Papia] ~ Milano ~ Brescia; notwithstanding, the feast of Seuerinus Boethius is attested in Italy as of the 16th century by the Italian mathematician and Abbot Francesco Maurolico (1494-1575) in his *Martyrologium reverentis domini Francisci Maurolyci abbatis Messanensis...*, Venetiis, 1567, *decimo kalendas nouembris*, the 23rd of October. The eulogy here of Seuerinus Boethius is as follows: “*Papiae Severini Boetii philosophi, ac theologi celeberrimi, a Theodorico tyranno proscripti, ac deinde in vinculis interfecti; cum prius Symmachum socerum similiter peremptum, amisisset*”. Furthermore, Seuerinus Boethius is commemorated in the church of *Santa Maria in Portico* in Rome, whose construction dates back to the year 1632<sup>11</sup>. It should also be pointed out that in spite of the early popular veneration of Boethius in Pavia, his official feast was not authorized until the 15th of December 1883 by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and confirmed by Pope Leo XIII (Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci: 1878–1903)<sup>12</sup>. • *Explicit* •





















• Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR | Mediaevalist | Musicologist | Proto-Philologist | 2015 •



<sup>11</sup> *Dix mille saints. Dictionnaire hagiographique*, Bénédictins de Ramsgate (eds.), traduction française: Marcel Stroobants, Turnhout (Brepols), 1991, p. 95.

<sup>12</sup> M. Coens, *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 78, 1960, p. 72, note 3; Illo Humphrey, “Boèce: l’homme, la carrière, le destin, prosopographie, hagiographie, culte et vénération”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), Vol. I, Préliminaire VI, p. 82-84.

## LATIN STENOGRAPHY | CRITICAL GLOSSARY | BIBLIOGRAPHY:

<b>adproba-bitur :</b>  CC → 19 v <sup>o</sup> -b : 3 CNT → 19 : 93 K-2 : Ø 14064 → 2 : 18(md) 7183 → Ø	<b>bon-um :</b>  CC → 4-b : 11 CNT → 2 : 113 K-2 → p. 47-b : 4 14064 → 2 : 2, 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)	<b>*ego :</b>  CC → 3 v <sup>o</sup> : CNT → 2 : 68 K-2 → p. 112-b : 4 14064 → 2 : 13(md), 18 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg), 24
<b>*es :</b>  CC → 6-b : 6 CNT → 4 : 42 K-2 → p. 114-a : 11 14064 → 2 : 9 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 6(mg)	<b>est :</b>  CC → 6-b : 7 CNT → 4 : 43 K-2 → p. 114-b : 1 14064 → 2 : 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)	<b>et :</b>  CC → 1 v <sup>o</sup> -b : 16 CNT → 1 : 24 K-2 → p. 367-b : 11 14064 → 2 : 3, 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 6, 19(mg)
<b>filius :</b>  CC → 36 v <sup>o</sup> -b : 2 CNT → 33 : 24 K-2 → p. 134-b : 14 14064 → 2 : 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)	<b>id est :</b>  CC → 10 v <sup>o</sup> -b : 1, 6-b : 7 CNT → 12 : 95, 4 : 43 K-2 → p. 174-b : 8, 114-b : 1 14064 → 2 : 7(md) 7183 → Ø	<b>magis :</b>  CC → 7 v <sup>o</sup> -a : 11 CNT → 9 : 1 K-2 → p. 226-a : 10 14064 → 2 : 3(md), 2 : 18(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 6(mg)
<b>*me-um :</b>  WCG → 7-b : 3 CNT → 8 : 48 K-2 → p. 216-b : 8 14064 → 2 : 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)	<b>*me-us :</b>  WCG → 7-b : 19 CNT → 8 : 48 K-2 → p. 216-b : 5 14064 → 2 : 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)	<b>*mihi :</b>  CC → 4-a : 15 CNT → 2 : 98 K-2 → p. 219-a : 14 14064 → 2 : 18(md) 7183 → Ø
<b>non :</b>  CC → 4 v <sup>o</sup> -a : 6 CNT → 3 : 7 K-2 → p. 238-a : 6 14064 → 2 : 9, 18(md) 7183 → Ø	<b>pater :</b>  CC → 36 v <sup>o</sup> -a : 19 CNT → 33 : 21 K-2 → p. 261-b : 10 14064 → 2 : 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)	<b>quam :</b>  CC → 5-b : 8 CNT → 3 : 67 K-2 → p. 304-b : 5 14064 → 2 : 9 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 6(mg), 13, 16
<b>quia :</b>  WCG → 8-c : 16 CNT → 9 : 62 K-2 → p. 304-b : 12 14064 → 2 : 8, 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 6(mg), 16(mg), 19(mg)	<b>*ti-bi :</b>  CC → 4-a : 12 CNT → 2 : 95 K-2 → p. 370-b : 15 14064 → 2 : 12, 18(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 17	<b>*tu :</b>  CC → 2 v <sup>o</sup> -b : 18 CNT → 2 : 5 K-2 → p. 386-a : 9 14064 → 2 : 3(md), 13, 18 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)
<b>*tu-us :</b>  WCG → 7-b : 15 CNT → 8 : 60 K-2 → p. 368-b : 1 14064 → 2 : 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)	<b>*tu-um :</b>  WCG → 7-a : 22 CNT → 8 : 44 K-2 → p. 368-b : 1 14064 → 2 : 13(md) 7183 → 2 v <sup>o</sup> : 19(mg)	

© *Descriptio A: Illo Humphrey* | Paris | 2004 •

Glossary of Latin Stenography based on the glosses conserved in Paris, BnF, Fonds latin: 14064 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 2r<sup>o</sup>: 13, 18; and 7183 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 2v<sup>o</sup>: 18-19, 24-25; Illo Humphrey, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo...*, Ottawa, 2007, p. 26, 98, 206-230.

## SIGLA:

- CC** = *Codex Cassellanus*: Kassel, *Gesamthochschule*, 2<sup>o</sup> Ms. philol. 2 (a. D. 799) •  
**WCG** = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 9, 8 Aug. 4<sup>o</sup> (a. D. 850-860) •  
**CNT** = Schmitz (Wilhelm), *Commentarium notarum tironianarum*, 1893, Vol. 2 •  
**K-2** = Kopp (Ulrich), *Paleographia Critica*, 1817-1829, Vol. 2 •  
**14064** = Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064 (9<sup>th</sup> century, *in.*, Corbie [?]) •  
**7183** = Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7183 (9<sup>th</sup> century, *in.*, Saint-Denis-en-France) •  
**(md)** = marge de droite (right margin) •  
**(mg)** = marge de gauche (left margin) •

## ANICIUS MANLIUS [TORQUATUS] SEUERINUS BOETHIUS

*Opera omnia:*

- 1) *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* • (G. Friedlein, Leipzig: Teubner, 1867; M. Masi, Amsterdam, 1983; J.-Y. Guillaumin, Paris (Belles Lettres), 1995; H. Oosthout et I. Schilling, Turnhout: Brepols, 1999; Illo Humphrey, complete *princeps* proto-philological critical edition (text, glosses, *notae sententiarum*, *notae tironianae*, *distictiones*, etc.), Institutue of Medieval Music, Ottawa, Canada, 2007; ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series latina* [*P. L.*], Vol. 63, col. 1079-1168) •
- 2) *De institutione musica libri quinque* • (G. Friedlein, Leipzig: Teubner, 1867; C. M. Bower, *Fundamentals of Music*, [English], New Haven, 1989; C. Meyer, *Boèce. Traité de la Musique*, [Latin-French], Turnhout: Brepols, 2004; ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 63, col. 1167-1300) •
- 3) [*De institutione geometrica* (?) ] • (lost, cf. Cassiodorus: *Institutiones*, II,6; *Variae*, I,XLV,4; D. Pingree, in *Boethius. His Life, Thought...*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson, Oxford, 1981, p. 53: note 66) •
- 4) [*De institutione astronomica* (?) ] • (lost, cf. Cassiodorus: *Institutiones*, II,6; *Variae*, I,XLV,4; D. Pingree, in *Boethius. His Life, Thought...*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson, Oxford, 1981, p. 53: note 66) •
- 5) *De divisione* • (ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 64) •
- 6) *In categorias Aristotelis libri IV* • (ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 64) •
- 7) *Commentaria in Ciceronis Topica* • (ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 64; Johann Kaspar von Orelli, Johann Gregor Baiter, 1834: *Ciceronis Opera* V,1) •
- 8) *περὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους Ἑρμηνείας* (*De interpretatione Aristotelis*), (I) based on M. Victorinus • (ed. K. Meiser, 1880) •
- 9) *περὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους Ἑρμηνείας* (*De interpretatione Aristotelis*), (II) based on Porphýrios • (ed. K. Meiser, 1880) •



- 10) *In Porphyrii eisagogen* (I) • (ed. G. Schepss • S. Brandt, 1906, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* [CSEL]) •
- 11) *In Porphyrii eisagogen* (II) • (ed. G. Schepss • S. Brandt, 1906, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* [CSEL]) •
- 12) *De syllogismis categoricis* (?) • (ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 64) •
- 13) *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos* • (ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 64) •
- 14) *De syllogismis hypotheticis* • (ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 64) •
- 15) *De differentiis topicis* • (ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 64) •
- 16) *Quomodo Trinitas unus deus ac non tres dii* • (ed. R. Peiper, 1871; H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, S. J. Tester, 1973: Collection Loeb) •
- 17) *Utrum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus de divinitate substantialiter* • (ed. R. Peiper, 1871; Stewart, Rand, Tester, 1973: Loeb) •
- 18) *Hebdomades* [*Quomodo substantiae in eo • quod sint • bonae sint cum non sint substantialia sint*] • (ed. R. Peiper, 1871; H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, S. J. Tester, 1973: Collection Loeb) •
- 19) *De fide catholica* • (ed. R. Peiper, 1871; H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, S. J. Tester, 1973: Collection Loeb) •
- 20) *Liber contra Eutychen et Nestorium* • (ed. R. Peiper, 1871; H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, S. J. Tester, 1973: Collection Loeb) •
- 21) *Consolatio Philosophiae*, (ed. R. Peiper, 1871; L. Bieler, 1984; J. J. O'Donnell, 1990 | 1994) •

**Nota bene (1):** In the hagiographical literature on Severinus Boethius, there exist divergent testimonies concerning the conditions in which Boethius drafted his *opus ultimum*, i. e. *Consolatio Philosophiae*. Indeed, according to Otto, Episcopus Frisingensis (Bishop of Freising, \*1111-1114 – †22 September, 1158), the *Consolatio Philosophiae* was “*written*”: *opus philosophicum scripsit*; according to Theodoricus monachus Epternacensis (Thierry monk of Echternach), the treatise was

**“dictated”**: *librum de consolatione philosophiae dictauit*; then, the Manuscript *Rubea Vallis* (Rouge-Cloître) of the 16<sup>th</sup> century indicates simply that the work was **“edited”**: *librum De consolatione philosophiae edidit*, without any further explanations; cf., *infra*, *Hagiographia* •

Cf. *Clavis patrum latinorum qua in novum Corpus Christianorum edendum optimas quasque scriptorum recensioni a Tertulliano ad Bedam...*, ed. E. Dekkers, Steenbrugge 1951, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1961, p. 196-198 © [http://pld.chadwyck.com/help/bib\\_refs.htm](http://pld.chadwyck.com/help/bib_refs.htm) •

Cf. **Boethii opera**: Bibliography © <http://www.klassphil.uni-muenchen.de/~gruber/boethius/b.html> •

Cf. **Boethii opera**: Bibliotheca Augustana © [http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/boe\\_intr.html](http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/boe_intr.html) •

Cf. **Boethii opera**: Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series latina* [P.L.], Volumes 63, 64 •

Cf. **Boethii Musica**: *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* (TML) © [http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/BOEMUS4\\_TEXT.html](http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/BOEMUS4_TEXT.html) •

**Nota bene (2)**: *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis libri quinque*, ed. R. Peiper, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1871, p. 1-146; Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 63, *Boetii De consolatione Philosophiae libri quinque*, columns 547-1074; cf. *Boethii Consolatio Philosophiae*, ed. J. J. O'Donnell, Julia Haig Gaisser, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, (USA), 1990, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., see full text © <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/boethius/boethius.html>; P. Courcelle, *La consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité de Boèce*, Paris (Études augustiniennes), 1967, p. 37-46, Plates 1-6; A. M. Crabbe, “Literary Design in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*”, in *Boethius. His Life, Thought and Influence*, Oxford (Basil Blackwell), 1981, p. 237-277; A. M. Crabbe, “Anamnesis and Mythologie in the *De consolatione Philosophiae*”, in *Atti. Congresso internazionale di studi boeziani*, (Pavia, 5-8 ottobre 1980), a cura di L. Obertello, Roma (Editrice Herder), 1981, p. 311-325; B. Guenée, *Histoire et culture dans l'Occident médiéval*, Introduction: p. 9-17, Chapitre VI : Le succès de l'œuvre, p. 248-258, Paris (Publications de la Sorbonne: “Études”, Vol. 13, Université de Paris I: Panthéon-Sorbonne), 1980, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1991; *Philosophiae consolatio*, ed. L. Bieler, (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, n° 94), Turnhout, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1984; cf. *Boethii Consolatio Philosophiae*, ed. James J. O'Donnell, University of Virginia E-Text Library, 1994 © <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/latin/boethius/boecons.html> •

**Notker III (Labeo seu Teutonicus, \*ca. 950 – †1022)**, *Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, Buch I und II*, ed. Petrus W. Tax, *Die Werke Notker des Deutschen*, Neue Ausgabe 1; Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 94, Tübingen, 1986;

**Notker III (Labeo seu Teutonicus, \*ca. 950 – †1022)**, *Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, Buch III*, ed. Petrus W. Tax, *Die Werke Notker des Deutschen*, Neue Ausgabe 2; Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 100, Tübingen, 1988;

**Notker III (Labeo seu Teutonicus, \*ca. 950 – †1022)**, *Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, Buch IV und V*, ed. Petrus W. Tax, *Die Werke Notker des Deutschen*, Neue Ausgabe 3; Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 101 (Tübingen, 1990); **Christine Hehle**, *Boethius in St. Gallen: Die Bearbeitung der 'Consolatio Philosophiae' durch Notker Teutonicus zwischen Tradition und Innovation*, Tübingen, 2002; **Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen**, and **Lodi Nauta**, *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the Consolatio Philosophiae*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 58, Leiden, 1997; [http://www.hsaugsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/10Jh/Notker/not\\_boet.html](http://www.hsaugsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/10Jh/Notker/not_boet.html); <http://homepage.uibk.ac.at/~c30310/Altdeutsch/Handschriftenkatalog.pdf>: Universität Innsbruck Österreich (Austria), Althochdeutsch Handschriftenkatalog, 802 pages, see pages 631-637, Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek: 817 | 818 | 820 | 825 | 830 | 831 | 844 | 845; BBKL, B. VI, Spalte 1035-1041, Tibor Pézsa: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/n/notker\\_v\\_s\\_g.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/n/notker_v_s_g.shtml) •

**Nota bene (3)**: Notker III was a learned Benedictine monk of Sankt Gallen. He was born in ca. 950 in the northeastern extremity of Alemannia, in the Kanton of Thurgau, and died at the Abbey of Sankt Gallen in 1022. Born into an aristocratic family (he was the nephew of Ekkehard I, †973), he became oblate at an early age at Sankt Gallen, received a very thorough education in the liberal arts and sciences, as well as in theology, religion, and liturgy, etc., and subsequently became *Praeceptor* of the Sankt Gallen monastic school under his cousin Abbot Burkhard II. See, *infra*, Ch. 10 (C): p. 172-174 •

**Godden (Malcolm), Irvine (Susan Elizabeth), Griffith (Mark)**, eds., *The Old English Boethius. An Edition of the Old Versions of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Volume I, ISBN: 978-0-1992-5966-2 (Set) | Volume II, ISBN: 978-0-1995-4706-7, Oxford (OUP), 2009. **Nota bene**: Cf. Volume I, pages 9-42, *Old English Boethius Manuscripts*: (1) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 180 (2079), cf. <http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Bodl.180.htm#top>; (2) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 12; (3) London, British Library, Cotton Otho A.vi; (4) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Auctarium F. 1. 15 (2455); (5) Napier Fragment (now lost), cf. A. S. Napier, "Bruchstück einer altenglischen Boethius-Handschrift", in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 19, 1887, p. 52-54 •

**Papahagi (Adrian)**, *Boethiana mediaevalia. A Collection of Studies on the Early Medieval Fortune of Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy*, Bucharest (Zeta Books: <http://www.zetabooks.com/new-releases/adrian-papahagi-boethiana-mediaevalia.html>; [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=336](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=336)), November, 2010, 230 pages, ISBN: 978-973-1997-79-7 (paperback), ISBN: 978-973-1997-90-3 (ebook) •

**Μάξιμος Πλανούδης** (Maximos Planoudis, moine byzantin: ca. 1255 – ca. 1305) **περὶ παραμυθίας τῆς φιλοσοφίας** (i.e. the only known Greek translation of the Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*), ed. C. F. Weber, *Carmina Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boethii graece conversa per Maximum Planudem*, primus edidit C. F. Weber, Darmstadii, 1832; E.-A. Bétant, *Boèce, De la consolation de la philosophie*, traduction grecque de Maxime Planude, Genève, 187; Anastasios Megas, *Boethii De Philosophiae Consolatione in Linguam Graecam Translati* [Latin and Greek], Thessalonicae, 1996; Manolis Papatomopoulos, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Traduction Grecque de Maxime Planude, Athens: Academy of Athens (distributed by J. Vrin, Paris, and by the Editions Ousia, Brussels), 1999; cf. D. Coeletta, “Planude traduttore de Boezio”, in *I Scritti in onore di Caterina Vassalini*, Verone, 1974, p. 157-164; B. Kopanos, “**Παραταχτικά ζευγη στις μεταφράσεις του Μαξιμου Πλανουδη**”, in **ΕΕΦΣΘ** 13, 1974, p. 21-34; M. Galdi, *Saggi boeziani*, Pisa, 1938; Leslie Taylor, “Maximos Planudes and his **περὶ παραμυθίας τῆς φιλοσοφίας**, Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy translated into Greek*”, in *Carmina Philosophiae*, Volume 13, 2004, p. 53-60 •

**Tischler (Matthias Martin)**, « El consejero exiliado. El papel de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boecio en las cortes de Carlomagno y Luis el Piadoso »; [English: “The Exiled Counsellor: The Role of the “*Consolatio Philosophiae*” of Boethius in the Courts of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious”], *Enrahonar. Quaderns de Filosofia* 54, 2015, p. 33-54: ISSN 0211-402X (paper) | ISSN 2014-881X (digital) •

**Troncarelli (Fabio)**, “La consolazione del dolore. Nuove ipotesi sul dittico del Poeta e della Musa”, in *Estratto dalla rivista Arte Medievale* | IV serie – anno I, 2010-2011, pages 9-30 •

**Troncarelli (Fabio)**, “Forbidden memory: The Death of Boethius and the Conspiracy of Silence”, in *Mediaeval Studies* 73, 2011, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, Canada, pages 183-205 •

**Nota bene (3)**: The wisdom literature genre *consolatio* (ή παραμυθία, -ας, τὸ παραμύθιον, -ον, ή παραψυχή, -ής) is among the works of Κράντωρ (Krántor, ca. –330 to – 270: disciple of Xenocrátis, † -314), whose treatise **περὶ Πένθους [τὸ Πένθος, τοῦ Πένθους]**: *On Grief*) seems to be at the origin of the genre, having inspired many subsequent *consolationes*; cf. Léon Robin, *La pensée grecque, et les origines de l'esprit scientifique*, Paris, 1923, p. 429-432; © <http://www.kat.gr/kat/history/Greek/Id/Platonism.htm> • *Explicit* •



## ANICIUS MANLIUS [TORQUATUS] SEUERINUS BOETHIUS

### Prosopographie | Propography

(Le diptyque consulaire de Flavius Nonius Arrius Manlius Boethius :  
père de Boèce)

(The consular diptych of Flavius Nonius Arrius Manlius Boethius:  
Father of Severinus Boethius)

### Notice française | English Notice

#### Notice française :

Cette bibliographie prosopographique sur le diptyque consulaire en ivoire de Flavius Manlius Boethius (350 x 126 mm) représente mille heures de recherches effectuées au Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (Site Richelieu) entre le 1er août et le 31 décembre 1997. Elle a pour double objectif : **(a)** de rendre plus claires les différentes étapes de la recherche sur ce monument prosopographique important à partir du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle inclus, **(b)** de fournir un outil de travail précis pour la recherche et pour l'enseignement. Notre diptyque est conservé en Italie du Nord aux Musei Civici de Brescia, et plus précisément au Musée de l'ancien couvent bénédictin Santa Giulia – Museo della Città. Daté a.D. 487, il fut attribué à tort par certains historiens du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à Boèce le philosophe (Anicius Torquatus Manlius Severinus Boethius, \*ca. 480-†524), or, comme l'avaient déjà compris d'autres historiens de la même période, il s'agit non du philosophe mais du père de celui-ci, Flavius Narius Manlius Boethius (ou bien Flavius Nonius Arrius Manlius Boethius), lequel fut consul en 487. Cette bibliographie prosopographique recense de manière détaillée **(a)** la correspondance scientifique du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle entre le Cardinal Angelo Maria Querini [ou Quirini] (\*Venise, 1680 – †Brescia, 1755, évêque de Brescia en 1727, préfet de la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana de 1730 à 1751) et ses collègues européens, **(b)** l'ensemble des travaux des XIX<sup>e</sup>, XX<sup>e</sup> et XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles sur ce diptyque conservé, comme il se doit, à Brescia, en Italie. Enfin, il est utile de signaler que le *Thesaurus veterum Diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum...*, excellent outil de recherche, très précis et bien documenté d'Antonio Francesco Gori, Florentinae, anno M<sup>o</sup>DCC<sup>o</sup>LIX<sup>o</sup>, i. e. Florence, 1759, Volume 1 (cf. *infra*, **Gori**), constitue toujours l'étude la plus complète sur le diptyque consulaire de Flavius Nonius Arrius Manlius Boethius • (IH | ih) •

### English Notice:

This prosopographical bibliography on the ivory consular diptych of Flavius Manlius Boethius (350 mm x 126 mm) represents 1000 hours of research at the Cabinet des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Site Richelieu), research which was done between the 1<sup>st</sup> of August and the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, 1997. The present bibliography has a double objective: **(a)** to render more clear the different stages of the proto-philological research concerning this important prosopographical monument as of the 17<sup>th</sup> century through the 21<sup>st</sup> century, **(b)** to furnish a precise study instrument for research and teaching. This consular diptych, conserved in Northern Italy at the Musei Civici of Brescia, and more precisely at the former Benedictine Convent Santa Giulia – Museo della Città di Brescia. Dated a. D. 487, the Boethius diptych was falsely attributed by certain 17<sup>th</sup>-century historians to the philosopher Anicius Torquatus Manlius Severinus Boethius (\*ca. 480-†524); other historians, however, of the same period, attributed accurately the consular diptych not to Severinus Boethius, but to his father Flavius Narius Manlius Boethius (or Flavius Nonius Arrius Manlius Boethius), who was consul in the year 487. This bibliography gives in detail: **(a)** the 17<sup>th</sup>-century scientific-scholarly correspondence between the Cardinal Angelo Maria Querini [or Quirini] (Venice, \*1680 – †Brescia, 1755, Bishop of Brescia in 1727, Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana from 1730 to 1751), and his European Colleagues, **(b)** the scientific, historical, and proto-philological research, which was done in the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries on the consular diptych of Flavius Nonius Arrius Manlius Boethius, appropriately conserved in the city of Brescia, Italy. It is useful to indicate here that the *Thesaurus veterum Diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum...*, an excellent and precise research tool, by the Italian historian and proto-philologist Antonio Francesco Gori, Florentinae, anno M<sup>o</sup>DCC<sup>o</sup>LIX<sup>o</sup>, i. e. Florence, 1759, Volume 1 (cf. *infra*, **Gori**), remains still to the present day the most complete, reliable, and thorough historical and proto-philological study on the consular diptych of Flavius Nonius Arrius Manlius Boethius • (IH | ih) •

**Alföldi (A.)**, «Die Spätantike in der Ausstellung 'Kunstschätze der Lombardei' », dans *Atlantis*, n° XXI, 1949, p. 79 •

**Bouhier (Jean)**, (Dijon, dans sa lettre du 29 mars, 1743 adressée au Cardinal Angelo Maria Querini évêque de Brescia), cf. *infra*, Hagenbuch (J. G.) : p. XVI-XVII, LXXV ; Gori (A. F.), t. I, p. 148-153 •

**Boze (Claude Gros de)**, (Paris, dans sa lettre du 31, janvier 1743 adressée au Cardinal Angelo Maria Querini), cf. *infra*, Hagenbuch (J. G.) : p. XI-XV, XXXXII-XXXVII, XXXVII-XXXVIII, LIII-LVI, LXXII-LXXIII ; Gori (A. F.), t. I, p. 145-147 •

**Buonarroti (Filippo)**, (Venise, ca. 1742-1743), cf. *infra*, Hagenbuch (J. G.) : p. VIII (§VII), XXVI-XXVII ; Gori (A. F.), t. I, p. 133 ; cf. «Descrizione di un Dittico di avorio di Boezio Consolo, che si conserva in Brescia nel Museo de' Sigg. Barbisoni », i.e. Articolo II dans *Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia*, tomo ventesimottavo (t. 28), Venise ?, 1742-1743 ?, p. 39-48 •

**Capps (E.)**, «The Style of the consular Diptychs », dans *The Art Bulletin* n° X, 1927, p. 64, fig. 4 •

**Dalton (O. M.)**, *Byzantine Art and Archeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 197, fig. 8 •

**Delbrück (Richard)**, *Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte im Auftrage des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Faszikel 2 : *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, 2. Lieferung, (herausgegeben von R. Delbrück und H. Leitzmann), Berlin, Leipzig, 1927 (Verlag : Walter de Gruyter und Co.), n° 7 •

**Fabricius (Johann Albrecht)**, *Bibliotheca latina*, volumen tertium, ultimumque reliqua supplementi plurimum acuti complexum, Cum locupletissimo in secundum tertiumque volumen indice. Accedit p. 761, Aurelii Cornelii Celsi rhetorica, ex unica Sixti Romae editione, Hamburgi (apud J. C. Kisneri), anno Christi M°DCC°XXII° (1722), cf. P. 579 : «Diptychon Boethii... » ; cf. *infra*, Hagenbuch (J. G.), p. XXVI •

**Galeardi (Paulo)**, (Brescia, ca. 1742-1745), cf. *infra*, Hagenbuch (J. G.) : p. VIII-VIII, XXVII, XXXIII-XXXV ; Gori (A. F.), t. I, p. 135 •

**Gori (Antonio Francesco)**, *Thesaurus veterum Diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum tum eiusdem auctoris cum aliorum lucubrationibus illustratus ac in tres tomos divisus opus posthumum adcessere Iohannis Baptistae Passeri Pisavrensis nobilis eugubini in postremum additamenta et in tomos singulos praefationes*. Florentinae (ex typographia Caletani Albizzini, praesidium permissu), anno M<sup>o</sup>DCC<sup>o</sup>LIX<sup>o</sup> (1759), cf. t. I (10 + XXII + 287 pages, *in-folio* / index rerum • 12 planches-gravures), p. 132-203 et planches IV et V (p. [203-bis]) : « Diptychon Brixianum Boethii consulis, anno CCCC<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>, atque in illud tab. IV. Et V. editum, vv. Cc. Observationes ». **Nota bene** : Dans ce chapitre, Gori réunit toutes les études, ainsi que toute la correspondance scientifique publiées jusqu'en 1759, sur le diptyque consulaire de Boèce ; pour l'étude de Gori lui-même, voir p. 165-203. Il faut noter également que Gori est l'un des rares historiens-paléographes de son époque à nous signaler l'existence des deux enluminures et les inscriptions liturgiques sur la face intérieure des deux volets de notre diptyque. Les enluminures, datées du début du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, représentent, en haut sur le premier volet à gauche, la résurrection de Lazare, puis, en haut à droite sur le deuxième volet sont représentés saint Jérôme, saint Augustin et saint Grégoire 1<sup>er</sup>, identifiés grâce aux inscriptions au-dessus de leurs têtes. Sur la partie inférieure des deux volets, se trouve un texte liturgique en écriture onciale très effacée par endroit, que l'on date de l'extrême fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Gori nous en propose une transcription à la page 200, tout en exprimant son étonnement que ses contemporains aient pu passer sous silence l'existence de la face intérieure du diptyque [cote B.n.F., Cabinet des Mss occidentaux, Fol. 39, tome I] ; à ce propos, cf. Leclercq (Dom Henri), Muñoz (A.) et Rohault de Fleury (G.) •

**Hagenbuch (Johann Gaspar)**, *De diptycho Brixiano Boethii consulis epistola epigraphica, auspiciis iussu et sumtibus principis*. Eminentissimi Angeli Mariae tit. S. Marci Cardinalis Quirini, summi Bibliothecae Vaticanae praefecti episcopi Brixiani, et edita a Iohanne Gasparo Hagenbuchio, professore Turicensi et Sodali adlecto, ab Academiis Etrusca Cortonensi et Columbaria Florentina, cum aenes tabulis Turici[Zürich] excudit Heideggerus et Socii, M<sup>o</sup>DCC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup> (1748), 3 + CCXXXXVI pages, 2 planches (page 0 = planche 1, diptyque



consulaire de Boèce, p. CLXXXII-bis = planche 2 [cote B.n.F., Impr. J. 1308]) ; cf. Gori, t. I, p. 161-164 •

**Humphrey (Illo)**, « Boèce : l'homme, la carrière, le destin, prosopographie, hagiographie, culte et vénération », dans *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce* ([Boethius], Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, 524) : *l'homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son oeuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (éd.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, Préliminaire VI, p. 49-112, Notes: p. 93-112, cf. Sections : 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, *La Prosopographie de Boèce*, p. 54-74 •

**Leclercq (Dom Henri)**, « Diptyques », dans *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (DACL) Paris, 1920, t. IV(1) : D – Domestici, cf. « Diptyques (Archéologie) » : n° 5 « Diptyque de Boèce [a. D.] 487 », col. 1107-1109 ; cf. aussi, Dom Henri Leclercq, « Les ivoires », dans DACL, t. VII(2), « Diptyques consulaires », col. 1937-1938 •

**Leichius (Johannes Heinricus)**, *De diptycho veterum, et de diptycho eminentissimi Quirini, S.R.E. Cardinalis, Bibliothecarii Apostolici, episcopi Brixienensis, diatribe*, Lipsiae [Leipzig] (apud J. F. Gleditschium), anno M<sup>o</sup>DCC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup> (1743), cf. Sectio secunda : « De Brixiano Boethii consulis et de ecclesiasticis diptychis », I, p. XXV-XXVI ; cf. Gori, t. I, p. 137-138 •

**Martindale (J. R.)**, *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, volume II : a.D. 395-527, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, 1980, p. 232 •

**Mazochius (Alexsis Symmachus)** (i.e. Alessio Simmacho Mazzocchi), *Ad eminentissimum et reverendissimum dominum Angelum Mariam Quirinum S.R.E. Cardinalem Bibliothecarium episcopum Brixiensem de diptycho Quiriniano et Brixiano epistola, de graeco prophetarum codice chisiano, diatriba, de librorum bipatentium et convolutorum antiquitate diatriba*, s. l. n. d. (i.e. sans lieu, ni date), [Naples ?, entre 1740 et 1745 ?], cf. ch. III : « De diptycho Brixiano Boethii consulis », p. XIX-XXV ; cf. Gori, t. I, 154-160 •

**Meyer (Wilhelm)**, *Zwei antike Elfenbeintaflen der königlichen Staatsbibliothek in München : Festgabe zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom*. (Im Auftrage der

königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, 1879, p. 18-19, 56 (n° 5), 64 (n° 5) •

**Molinier (Emile)**, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, du V<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> s., t. I : *Les Ivoires*, Paris, 1896, p. 18-19 (n° 5) •

**Muñoz (A.)**, « Le pitture del dittico di Boezio nel Museo cristiano di Brescia », *Nuovo bulletino di archeologia cristiana*, 1907, t. XIII, p. 5-14, pl. 1 •

**Querini [Quirini] (Cardinal Angelo Maria)**, O.S.B. (\*1680-†1755) *Decas II*, Epistolarum latinarum quas desumptis plerumque earum argumentis ex vaticanae Bibliothecae mss., ad eam lustrandam de more quotannis Brixia accedens solivagas antea emiserat ejusdem praefectus S.R.E. Cardinalis Bibliothecarius, Romae, excudebant Nicolaus, et Marcus Palearini ad theatrum Pompeii an. Rep. Sal. M<sup>o</sup>DCC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup> (1743), (Pontificatus sanctissimi Domini noster Benedicti XIV., anno III<sup>o</sup>), cf. Epistola IV, p. XXV-XXVIII ; cf. Gori, t. I, p. 133-137 •

**Riegel (A.)**, *Die spätrömische Kunstströmung nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien, 1901, p. 115, fig. 39 •

**Rohault de Fleury (G.)**, *La Messe, étude archéologique sur ses monuments*, Paris, 1888, t. VI, p. 116-118, planche CDLXXXVI •

**Turre (Philippus a)**, (Brescia, 1742-1745 ?), cf. *supra*, Hagenbuch (J. G.) : p. VIII-VIII, XXVII-XXXIII, XXXIII-XXXV; Gori (A.F.), t. I, p. 135 •

**Venturi (A.)**, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, t. I, Milano, 1901, p. 415, 490, fig. 336 •

**Volbach (Wolfgang Fritz) [1]**, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, (Kataloge des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz, Nr. 7), Mainz, 1916 / 2<sup>e</sup> édition : Mainz, 1952, 260 figures réparties sur 68 planches, cf. P. 24 (n° 6), planche 2 (n° 6) •

**Volbach (Wolfgang Fritz) [2]**, *Les Ivoires du Moyen Âge*, (traduction française de M. Bloch), Paris, 1923, (18 pages, 55 planches), cf. p. 5

(§1), pl. 3. **Nota bene :** Le diptyque consulaire de Boèce ne figure pas dans cet ouvrage, toutefois, il est utile de comparer l'ivoire de Boèce avec d'autres ivoires du V<sup>e</sup> siècle qui y sont répertoriés •

**Westwood (J. O. A.),** « Diptychs of the Roman Consuls », dans *Oxford archeological and historical Society Report*, Oxford, 1862, p. 127 (n° 47, 48) •

**Wulff (O.),** *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst, Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft, Berlin-Neubabelsberg*, 1914, Potsdam, 1935, t. I, p. 193 • *Explicit* •

Cf. [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=336](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=336)

• Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR | Mediaevalist | Musicologist | Proto-Philologist | 2015 •



## ANICIUS MANLIUS [TORQUATUS] SEUERINUS BOETHIUS

## HAGIOGRAPHIE | HAGIOGRAPHY

(Culte et vénération de Severinus Boethius)

(Culte and Veneration of Severinus Boethius)

## Notice française | English Notice

## Notice française :

Cette bibliographie hagiographique sur Severinus Boethius représente mille heures de recherche effectuées au Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (Site Richelieu) entre le 1<sup>er</sup> août et le 31 décembre 1997. Elle a pour double vocation : **(a)** d'aider à mieux comprendre le début et l'évolution du culte de Severinus Boethius comme saint et martyr chrétiens entre le VI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, tel qu'il est relaté dans les chroniques, légendiers, les martyrologes et d'autres écrits hagiographiques, dans lesquels la vénération de Severinus Boethius fait l'objet de nombreux commentaires et éloges, **(b)** mais aussi de signaler les martyrologes et d'autres écrits hagiographiques, dans lesquels on ne trouve aucun éloge consacré au culte de Severinus Boethius. Toutefois, bien que célébré de bonne heure en Italie du Nord dans le triangle géographique Pavie (*Ticinum*, et plus tard *Papia*)-Milano-Brescia, et en Belgique, à la date *X<sup>o</sup> [decimo] kalendas novembres* (c'est-à-dire le 23 octobre), le culte régional de Severinus Boethius comme saint et martyr, ne fut autorisé officiellement qu'à partir du 15 décembre 1883 par la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites (\*22 janvier 1588 – †8 mai 1969), puis confirmé par le pape Léon XIII (Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci, successeur de Pie IX ; Léon XIII est né en 1810, fut élu pape le 20 février 1878, fut consacré le 3 mars 1878, est mort le 20 juillet 1903) ; cf. *infra*, M. Coens, *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 78, 1960, p. 72, n. 3. Par ailleurs, il faut préciser que Severinus Boethius est commémoré aussi en l'église *Santa Maria in Portico* à Rome (dont la construction date de la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle), cf. *Dix mille saints. Dictionnaire hagiographique*, rédigé par les Bénédictins de Ramsgate, Turnhout (Brepols), 1991, p. 95. Enfin, il faut noter également que malgré la date officielle de la fête de Severinus Boethius *X<sup>o</sup> [decimo] kalendas novembres* (c'est-à-dire le 23 octobre), l'éloge du martyr de celui-ci est mentionné à la date : VI<sup>o</sup> [*sexto*] *kalendas iunias* (c'est-à-dire le 27 mai), dans les *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, t. VI, die XXVII maii [VI<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunias], p. 702-710 • (IH | ih) •

### English Notice:

This hagiographical bibliography on Severinus Boethius represents 1000 hours of research at the Cabinet des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Site Richelieu), research which was done between the 1<sup>st</sup> of August and the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 1997. The present bibliography has a double objective: **(a)** to help better understand the beginning and the evolution of the veneration of Boethius as Christian saint and martyr between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century, passing in review the detailed accounts recorded in the chronicles, legendaries, martyrologia, and in other hagiographical writings, which contain numerous eulogies and commentaries on Severinus Boethius; **(b)** to indicate precisely the martyrologia, and other hagiographical writings, in which no mention whatsoever is made of the veneration of Severinus Boethius as Christian saint and martyr. Notwithstanding the very early regional veneration of Severinus Boethius as saint and martyr in Northern Italy in the geographical triangle Pavia-Milano-Brescia, and in Belgium, it was not until the 15<sup>th</sup> of December, 1883, that the official Feast of Severinus Boethius was authorized by the Sacred Congregation of Rites (\*22<sup>nd</sup> of January, 1588 – †8<sup>th</sup> of May, 1969), and subsequently confirmed by Pope Leo the XIII<sup>th</sup> (that is to say Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci, the immediate successor of Pope Pius the 9<sup>th</sup>; was born in the year 1810, was elected Pope the 20<sup>th</sup> of February, 1878, was consecrated the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March, 1878, and died, the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, 1903); cf. *infra*, M. Coens, *Analecta Bollandiana*, Volume 78, 1960, p. 72, note 3. Then, it is useful to know that Severinus Boethius is commemorated in Rome in the Church of *Santa Maria in Portico*, built in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, cf. *Dix mille saints. Dictionnaire hagiographique*, by the Benedictine monks of Ramsgate, Turnhout (Brepols), 1991, p. 95. Finally, it is also useful to note that in spite of the official Feast Day of Severinus Boethius X<sup>o</sup> [*decimo*] *kalendas novembres* (that is to say the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October), the eulogy of his martyrdom is mentioned at the date VI<sup>o</sup> [*sexto*] *kalendas iunias* (that is to say the 27<sup>th</sup> of May), in the *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, Volume VI, die XXVII maii [VI<sup>o</sup> *kalendas iunias*], p. 702-710 • (IH | ih) •

**Acta Sanctorum Maii**, t. VI, éd. Daniel van Papenbroeck, Antverpiae, 1688, die XXVII maii [VI<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunias], p. 702-710, cf. p. 704, caput II (« Symmachi et Boëthii hoc tempus vexatorum laus huius etiam capitivitas et scriptta in carcere »), col. 2 (§12), p. 706, caput III (« SS. Severini Boetii et Joannis[I] papae mors atque cultus »), col. 2, p. 707, caput III, col. 2 (§24), p. 707c, caput III, col. 2 : épitaphe en vers sur Boèce. **Nota bene** : On remarque ailleurs dans les martyrologes de Bède et d'Adon que l'éloge du pape Jean Ier tombe V<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunias (le 28 mai). Or, dans leur édition commentée du *Martyrologium Romanum*, les bollandistes placent l'éloge de ce pape au VI<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunias (le 27 mai), conformément à la date indiquée plus haut dans les *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, t. VI, p. 702-710. La confusion est due, semble-t-il, à une erreur de copiste ; cf. *Martyrologium Romanum*, p. 211 •

**Acta Sanctorum Octobris**, t. X, éd. J. van Hecke, B. Boussue, V. de Buck, E. Carpentier, Bruxelles, 1861, p. 3, col. 1 (§ B et C) : s. Boethius seu Severinus (die XXIII octobris [X<sup>o</sup> kalendas novembris]) •

**Adams (J. N.)**, *The Text and Language of a Vulgar Latin Chronicle, (Anonymus Valesianus II)*, University of London Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin supplement N<sup>o</sup> 36, London, 1976, p. 1-17 ; cf. p. 7 : ici, l'auteur avance l'hypothèse que la date de la rédaction de l'*Anonymus* dit « *Valesianus II* » se situe entre 526 et 550 •

**Ado sanctus, Archiepiscopus Viennensis [1]** (s. Adon, archevêque de Vienne [en Gaule], né vers 800 – mort le 16 décembre 875), *Chronicon in aetates sex divisum*, éd. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 123, cf. Aetas sexta : col. 107 (§519) : « Quo tempore Symmachum atque Boethium consulares viros pro catholicca pietate idem Theodoricus occidit. Quique anno sequente subita morte periit » •

**Ado sanctus, Archiepiscopus Viennensis [2]** (s. Adon, archevêque de Vienne [en Gaule], né vers 800 – mort le 16 décembre 875), *Martyrologe*, éd. Dom J. Dubois et Geneviève Renaud, *Le Martyrologe d'Adon, ses deux familles, ses trois recensions*, texte et commentaire, Paris (CNRS), 1984, p. XII-XXVI, p. 172 : l'éloge du pape Jean Ier, le 28 mai, voir 2<sup>e</sup> recension, où sont mentionnés le martyr de Boèce ainsi que celui de son beau-père Symmaque : « Quo tempore Theodoricus rex duos senatores praeclaros exconsules Symmachum et Boethium occidit ; qui nonagesimo octavo die postquam papa Iohannes defunctus est, subito interiit et mortus est ». **Nota bene** : Dans la première recension du Martyrologe d'Adon, on ne relève aucune mention explicite sur Boèce, ni aucun éloge consacré à Severinus Boethius, ni au 28 mai, ni au 23 octobre ; cf. édition critique de Dom J. Dubois et Geneviève Renaud, p. 172 (28 mai) et p. 362 (23 octobre) ; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 123, col. 271 (V<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunii : 28 mai), col. 383 (X<sup>o</sup> kalendas novembris : 23 octobre) •

**Agnellus (Andreas)** (né vers 805, évêque de Ravenne entre 839 et 846), *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, éd. Oswald Holder-Egger, *MGH: Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saeculi VI-IX*, Hannover, 1878, p. 265-391, cf. p. 304, lignes 6, 7 ; cf. aussi *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chronica minora* vol. I, *saec. IV., V., VI., VII.*, t. IX, Berlin, 1892, cf. *Excerpta ex Agnelli libro pontificali ecclesiae Ravennati*, p. 273, 333 : « Simmachus et Boetius patricii Theodorico iubente carne propinqui civesque romani cum securibus capitibus amputati sunt » •

**Anonymus Valesianus II** (entre 526 et 550), éd. Th. Mommsen, *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi*, t. IX : *Chronica Minora*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 326-328 (cf. §85-87, 92), 333. **Nota bene** : Cette chronique du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle mentionne le martyr de Boèce ainsi que celui de son beau-Père Symmaque. Il faut noter que l'Anonymus dit « Valesianus » est appelé aussi *Excerpta Valesiana* ; cf. *infra*, *Excerpta Valesiana*, éd. Jacques Moreau (révisé par V. Velkov), cf. *infra*, Valois (Henri de) : *Editio et annotatio excerpta autores ignoti...* •

**Bark (W.)**, « The Legend of Boethius' Martyrdom », dans *Speculum, a Journal of Medieval Studies*, t. 21, 1946, p. 312-317 •

**Beda Venerabilis** (Bède dit « le Vénérable », Wearmouth, 673 – Jarrow, 735), *Martyrologe*, ed. Dom Jacques Dubois et Geneviève Renaud, *Edition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'Anonyme de Lyon et de Florus*, Paris (CNRS), 1976, cf. p. 96 : 28 mai [i. e. V<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunii] ; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 94 (5) , col. 797-1148, voir col. 928-929 : V<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunii. **Nota bene** : Dans les martyrologes de Bède, de l'Anonyme de Lyon, ainsi que dans celui de Florus, Severinus Boethius n'est mentionné ni dans l'éloge du 28 mai, ni dans celui du 23 octobre •

**Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, novum supplementum (BHL)**, (Série Subsidia Hagiographica, n° 70), éd. Heinrich Fros, Bruxelles, 1986, p. 781-782 Severinus Boethius, mort en 524-oct. 23 : a.(7646 m), b.(7646 n,p), c.(7646 q), d.(7646 q-b), e.(7646 r), f.(7646 s), g.(7646 t) •

**Bon-Compagni (Carlo)**, « Notizie sulla vita de Severino Boezio e sulla storia de'suoi tempi », dans *Mem. Accad. Scien.*, Torino, 1843, B.V. II, p. 1-37 •

**Bosisio (Giovanni)**, *Memoria intorno al luogo del supplizio de Severino Boezio, son un'appendice intorno alla santità dello stesso Boezio*, Pavia, 1855, 2 planches •

**Braghi (Luigi)**, *Boezio filosofo, teologo, martire a Calvenzano dition*, Milano, 1865, 8 Planches •

**Canisius (Henricus)**, *Antiquae lectiones*, t. I. In quo XVI. Antiqua monumenta ad historiam mediae aetatis illustrandam, nunquam edita, omnia nunc primum e manuscriptis edita et notis illustrata, ab Henrico Canisio noviomago IC. Et SS. Canonum professore ordinario in Academia Ingolstadiensi, cum gratia et privilegio Caesareae maiestatis, Ingolstadii, ex officina typographica Ederiana, apud Andream Angermarium, anno 1601, cf. *Hermann Contracti Chronicon*, p. 475 : anno 524. **Nota bene** : Cf. *infra*, Hermannus Contractus (moine de la Reichenau, mort en 1054) •

**Cipolla (Carlo)**, « Per la storia del processo de Boezio », dans *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, t. XXI, p. 335-346, Roma, 1900 •

**Coens (Maurice)**, « Un manuscrit perdu de Rouge-Cloître, décrit d'après les notes d'Héribert Rosweyde [1569-1629] et d'Aubert le Mire [1573-1640] », dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 78, 1960, p. 53-83, cf. p. 71-72, et p. 72 : note 3. **Nota bene** : Cet article reproduit *in extenso* l'éloge prolixe sur la *passio* et le martyr de Severinus Boethius tel qu'il se trouvait dans le manuscrit perdu de Rouge-Cloître (« *ex manuscripto Rubeae Vallis* » [sic]); cf. Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, manuscrit sur papier 8919 (XVII<sup>e</sup> s., dimensions : 326 mm x 210 mm), f. 88r<sup>o</sup>, (X<sup>o</sup> kalendas novembris, i.e. 23 octobre) :

« Passio sancti Severini Boetii philosophi christianissimi. Incipit Boetius philosophus ». « Martyrium sancti Severini Boetii. Boetius philosophus, Anicius, Mallius, Torquatus, patricius, Severinus ex consularis, ordinarius Romanorum, vir clarissimus, illustris et conspicuus, conferendus uel praeferendus philosophis et saecularibus et ecclesiasticis ; in utraque lingua, tam graeca quam latina, eruditissimus ; super omnes liberalium artium libros, quos paene omnes de graeco in latinum transtulit, scripsit. Hic gloriosus philosophus et martyr circa annum Domini quingentesimum duodecesimum, tempore Iustini senioris et Clodovei regis Francorum cum Symmacho patricio, cuius gener erat, Romae rempublicam illustravit et auctoritatem Romani senatus contra Theodoricum, regem Gotthorum, iussu imperatoris Iustini superscripti Italiam tunc regentem ac arriana haeresi depravatum, iustitiae amore egregie defensavit quia, quando praefatus Theodoricus, rex Gotthorum, Romanorum rempublicam armis invasit, Boetius plus omnibus ei restitit. Ac postmodum apud eum falso accusatus quod sollicitè laboraret ut senatum et rempublicam ex eius manibus eriperet, cum pluribus aliis proscriptus atque in exilium missus, deinde Papiæ in carcerem coniectus est. **Ibique in carcere positus, quasi de gravi gloriae ac rerum mutatione doleret, ut consolatorias meditationes tanto dolori non tam sibi quam aliis quaereret, librum edidit *De consolatione philosophiae***, ostendens gloriam et dignitatem ceteraque terrena non vere bona sed nihil esse et iam nulli appetenda, nec de eorum amissione dolendum uel adeptione gaudendum. Tandem vero longo exilio fatigatus, ab ipso Theodorico in carcere propter iustitiam et fidem christi perimitur, anno domini quingentesimo



vicesimo primo. Unde quidam : *Est quingentesimo vicesimo si quoque primo || Mortuus exilio cruciante Boetius anno*. Cuius sancti martyrii festum in die conceptionis virginis Mariae ab ecclesia solemniter sub nomine Severini agitur. Theodoricus vero rex non multum post a quodam sancto heremita subito visus est a beato Ioanne papa et Symmacho patricio quos etiam occiderat, nudus et discalceatus, post mortem eius subitanam in ollam vulcani demergi, ut ait Gregorius papa in suo Dialogo [IV, c 3]. Haec Ysebrandus. » •

**Nota bene :**

Cet éloge très détaillé sur le martyr de Severinus Boethius est tiré d'une copie sur papier du manuscrit perdu de Rouge Cloître (« *ex manuscripto Rubae Vallis* » [sic]), copie qui fut réalisée au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle par les bollandistes ; cf. J. van den Ghyen, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, t. V, *Histoire – Hagiographie*, Bruxelles, 1905, p. 501 •

**Collectanea Bollandiana** (du 23 octobre), Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 8919 (XVII<sup>e</sup> s.), cf. l'éloge consacré à Boèce au feuillet 88 ; cf. J. van den Ghyen, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, t. V, *Histoire – Hagiographie*, Bruxelles, 1905, p. 501. **Nota bene :** Ici, il s'agit d'une copie sur papier faite par les bollandistes du manuscrit perdu de Rouge Cloître (i.e. « *ex manuscripto Rubae Vallis* ») ; voir *supra* l'article cité de Maurice Coens •

**Dubois (Dom Jacques)** O.S.B., « Le Martyrologe métrique de Wandelbert, ses sources, son originalité, son influence sur le Martyrologe d'Usuard », dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 79, 1961, p. 257-293, voir p. 289. **Nota bene :** Au 23 octobre dans le Martyrologe en vers de Wandelbert de Prüm, il est question non de Severinus Boethius, mais de Severinus Coloniensis (a. D. 346-403) ; il s'agit du vers n° 677 ; cf. *infra*, Wandelbertus, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH, Poetae latini aevi carolini*, t. 2, p. 597 •

**Dubois (Dom Jacques)** O.S.B., *Les Martyrologues du Moyen Âge latin*, (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, Fascicule 26), Turnhout (Brepols), 1978, p. 42-43, 59-60 •

**Excerpta Valesiana II**, (entre 526 et 550), éd. Jacques Moreau (révisé par V. Velkov), Leipzig, (Teubner Verlag), 2 édition, 1968, cf. §53-56(p. 15), §60 (p. 17), §64 (p. 19), §66 (p. 19), §85-87 ; cf. aussi, la première édition de J. Moreau, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1961, §85-87 (p. 24-25), §92 (p. 26), cf p. 25 : « Tunc Albinus et Boethius ducti in custodiam ad baptisterium ecclesiae. Rex [i.e. Theodoricus] vero vocavit Eusebium, praefectum urbis, Ticinum et inaudito Boethio protulit in eum sententiam. Quem mox in agro Calventiano, ubi in custodia habebatur, misere fecit occidi. Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi eius creparent, sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur » •

**Ferrari (i. e. F. Filippo Ferrari Alessandrino) [1]**, *Catalogus Sanctorum Italiae in menses duodecim distributus*. In quo vitae illorum ex particularium ecclesiarum monumentis compendio describuntur, adiectis ubique scholiis, notisque perbreuibis : in quibus saepe numero ambiguitates, et errores circa tempus praesertim, ac historiae veritatem contingentes deteguntur. Authore F. Filippo Ferrario Alexandrino ordinis Servorum Beatae Mariae, Sacrae Theologiae magistro et mathematicarum in gymnasio Ticinensi publico, interprete, ad sanctissimum patrem, et dominum in Christo D. Paulum V. pontificem maximum. Accesit index geminus alphabeticus, unus nominum sanctorum, in quo, ubi corpora ipsorum condita sint, indicatur : alter locorum, in quo sanctorum qui in illis sunt, adnotantur. Cum privilegiis : Iustus ut palma florebit languenti optatam dulce et comprehendere palmam, Mediolani, apud Hieronymum Bordonium, M.D.C.XIII.(1613), superiorum permissu. Nota bene : Cf. Index sanctorum : « Severinus Boetius martyr Ticini [i.e. Pavie]. 23 octobris, corpus in ecclesia s. Petri Coeli Aurei ». Cf. p. 663, notice et éloge : « De s. Severino Boetio martyre Ticini »... Annotatio : « Conditus est in aede s. Petri in Coelo Aureo apud corpus s. Augustini, ubi corpus asservatur cum epitaphio marmore insculpo. Cuius natalis hac die ab Ecclesia Ticinense. Celebratur » •

**Ferrari (i. e. F. Filippo Ferrari Alessandrino) [2]**, *Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum*, qui in martyrologio romano non sunt, ex variis martyrologiis, kalendaris, tabulis, monumentisque ecclesiarum ; necnon vitis eorumdem impressis ; seu manu scriptis et quamplurimis dition collectus, ac in duodecim menses instar martyrologii distributus suis ubique notis appositis. Auctore F. Filippo Ferrario Alexandrino ordinis Servorum Beatae Mariae Virginis Sacrae theologiae professore, ac publico mathematicarum in Ticinensi gymnasio interprete. Sanctissimo domino in Christo patri Domino Urbano papae VIII dicatus, Venetiis, apud Io. Guerilium. M<sup>o</sup>DC<sup>o</sup>XXV<sup>o</sup> (1625), de licentia superiorum, et privilegio. **Nota bene** : Cf. Index sanctorum : « Severinus Boetius martyr Papiae 23 octobris ». Cf. p. 415, Octobris 23, « Aptae in Gallia s. Theodoriti martyris. Ticini s. Severini Boetii martiris sub Theodorico Gothorum rege » •

**Gianani (Faustino) [1]**, « Il disegno della ‘Torre di Boezio’ in Pavia, nel libro di Giuliano da Sangallo (Codex Barberini Vaticano latino 4424) », dans *Archivio storico dition*, (serie 6, n<sup>o</sup> 52), 1925, 130-148 •

**Gianani (Faustino) [2]**, *Opicino de Canistris : ‘l’Anonimo Ticinese’ e la sua descrizione di Pavia (Codex Vaticano Palatino latino 1993)*, Pavia, 1926 (2<sup>e</sup> dition : 1976), p. 193 •

**Gianani (Faustino) [3]**, « In agro Calventiano », dans *Bolletino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria*, (n.s. n<sup>o</sup> 4), 1952, p. 51-68 •

**Gianani (Faustino) [4]**, « 'In agro Calventiano' : Il luogo del supplizio Boezio », dans *Atti. Congresso internazionale di studi boeziani*, édité par Luca Obertello, Pavia, tenu du 5 au 8 octobre 1980, Roma (Editrice Herder), 1981, p. 41-47 •

**Hermannus Contractus Augiensis Monachus** (Hermann Contract moine de la Reichenau, mort vers 1054), *Chronicon* s. I – s. XI, éd. J.-P. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 143, col. 55-264. **Nota bene** : La chronique d'Hermann Contract mentionne le martyr de Boèce, cf. *P. L.*, t. 143, *Hermanni Contracti Chronicon* s. VI, col. 110, [anno] 524 : « Theodoricus rex Gothorum et tyrannus Romanorum inter alia 64 <sup>[sic]</sup> mala Boetium patricium et philosophum diu carceratum occidit... » •

**Humphrey (Illo)**, « Boèce: l'homme, la carrière, le destin, prosopographie, hagiographie, culte et vénération », dans *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce ([Boethius], Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, 524): l'homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son oeuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (éd.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, Préliminaire VI, p. 49-112, Notes: p. 93-112, cf. Section 8, *Severinus Boethius dans l'Hagiographie: (Martyre • Culte • Vénération)*, p. 74-91 •

**Liber Pontificalis**, éd. Mgr. Louis Duchesne, t. I, Paris, 1886, cf. notice LV : Iohannes [Ier] (523-526), p. 275-278 •

**Mathwich (Johannes)**, « De morte Boethii », dans *Boethius*. (Serie : Wege der Forschung, Band 483), édité par M. Fuhrmann et J. Gruber, Darmstadt, 1984, p. 33-51 •

**Marcellinus Comes** (Marcellin, illyrien, comte, chroniqueur, mort vers 548), *Marcellini viri clarissimi comitis chronicon*, éd. Th. Mommsen, *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi* XI, *Chronica minora* s. IV. V. VI. VII., vol. II, Berlin, 1894, p. 37-59 (étude et commentaire), p. 60-108 (Chronique : a.D. 389-548), cf. p. 102 (« a.D. 522 : XV Symmachi et Boethii ») •

**Marius, Episcopus Aventicensis** (Marius, évêque d'Avenches, né vers 530 à Marsannay-la-Côte 21160 (Côte d'Or), évêque d'Avenches vers 573, mort le 31 décembre 593 ou 594, cf. U. Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, t. II, col. 3086), *Marii episcopi Aventicensis chronica* [a.D.] CCCCLV – [a.D.] DLXXXI, éd. Th. Mommsen, *MGH, Auctores antisquissimi* XI, *Chronica minora* s. IV. V. VI. VII., vol. II, Berlin, 1894, p. 227-231 (étude et commentaire), p. 232-239 (Chronique), cf. p. 234 : « A[nno] 522 Symmacho et Boetio. », p. 235 : « A[nno] 524. Eo anno interfectus est Boetius patricius in territorio Mediolanense. », « A[nno] 526. His cons. Occisus est Symmachus patricius Ravennae. » ; cf. aussi, l'édition de P. Chifflet, *Marii Aventicensis seu*

*Lausanensis episcopi Chronicon*, dans *Historiae Francorum scriptores coetanei*, Paris (A. Du Chesne), 1636, p. 216-220 •

**Martyrologium Romanum**, dans *Acta Sanctorum* Decembris, éd. H. Delehaye, P. Peeters, M. Coens, B. de Gaiffier, P. Grosjean, F. Halkin, S. J., Bruxelles, 1940, cf. VI<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunias (27 mai) : p. 211-212, X<sup>o</sup> kalendas novembres (23 octobre) : p. 470-471. **Nota bene** : Dans le martyrologe romain, on ne relève aucune mention du martyr de Boèce au 27-28 mai, de même, au 23 octobre, aucun éloge n'est consacré à Severinus Boethius •

**Maurolycus (Franciscus)** (Francesco Maurolico), *Martyrologium reverentis domini Francisci Maurolyci abbatis Messanensis* : multo quam antea purgatum, et locupletatum. In quo addita sunt ciuitatum ac locorum nomina, in quo sancti martyres passi sunt : atque eorum corpora in praesentiarum requiescunt. Cum indice locupletissimo ad inveniendum sanctorum nomina : et dies in quo festa eorum celebrantur. Tabula nominum sanctorum, topographia sanctorum Christi martyrum, apostolorum Christi nomina, discipulorum cathalogus, ex diversis autoribus, reliquarum loca, corpora sanctorum extra ciuitatem. Registrum : 1 2 3 4, A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P [i.e. 19 cahiers signés]. Omnes sunt quaterniones, praeter 2, 3, 4 duerniones, et L ternionem [avec réclames à chaque page]. Venetiis, in officina Lucae Antonii Iuntae, M<sup>o</sup>D<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup> (1568), cf. 28 mai (l'éloge du pape Jean Ier) et 23 octobre (l'éloge consacré à Boèce : « Papias Severini Boetii philosophi, ac theologi celeberrimi, a Theodorico tyranno proscripti, ac deinde in vinculis interfecti ; cum prius Symmachum socerum similiter peremptum, amisisset. ... ») •

**Morton (Catherine)**, « Boethius in Pavia : The tradition and the Scholars », dans *Atti. Congresso internazionale di studi boeziani*, édité par Luca Obertello, tenu à Pavia du 5 au 8 octobre 1980, Roma (Editrice Herder), 1981, p. 49-58 •

**Obertello (Luca)**, « La morte di Boezio e la verità storica », dans *Atti. Congresso internazionale di studi boeziani*, édité par Luca Obertello, tenu à Pavia du 5 au 8 octobre 1980, Roma (Editrice Herder), 1981, p. 59-70 •

**Otto Episcopus Frisingensis** (Otto évêque de Freising, Otto von Österreich, né entre 1111 et 1114, séjour à Paris en 1122, cistercien à Morimond en 1126, abbé de Morimond en 1136, évêque de Freising en 1138, devient croisé et écrit sa Chronique en 1147, mort le 22 septembre 1158 à Morimond, cf. U. Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, t. II, col. 3459-3460), *Chronicon Libri VIII*, éd. Roger Wilmans, dans *MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, t. XX, Hannover, 1868, p. 83-115 (étude et commentaire), p. 116-301 (Chronique), pour Boèce, cf. p. 214-215 (Liber V, §1, p. 214 à partir de la ligne 38 jusqu'à p. 215, §2) : « Cernens hoc clarissimus vir, consularis ordinis Anicius Manlius Boetius, ac rationis intuitu animadvertens, dum tyrannidi eius obviare molitur, ab eo in

exilium trusus, **Papiae in carcere ponitur, ubi de contemptu mundi philosophicum utile valde scripsit opus...** Simmachum vero patricium ac Boetium senatorem nobilissimum, cuius supra mentionem feci, crudeliter ante necaverat ».

**Pagi (Antoine)**, *Critica historico-chronologica in universos annales ecclesiasticos. Caesaris Cardinalis Baronii*, t. II, Antverpiae, 1705, a.D. 525 (n° 3 et n° 5) •

**Peiper (Rudolf)**, éd. *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis libri quinque* (p. 1-146, *accedunt eiusdem atque incertorum Opuscula sacra* (p. 149-163), Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1871, p. XXX-XXXVIII : « Boetius autem honorifice tumulatus est papie in crypta ecclesie », p. XXXV ; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 63, *Boetii De consolatione Philosophiae libri quinque*, col. 547-1074. **Nota bene** : Dans l'introduction du *De consolatione Philosophiae*, R. Peiper propose une biographie, intitulée *Vita VI*, laquelle est empruntée à une *Vita Boethii* tirée des gloses d'un manuscrit du XIII<sup>e</sup> conservé à Wrocław [Breslau], Pologne, Bibliotheca Rehdigeriana, S IV 3 a. 48 s. f. 32v° •

**Petrus Calo de Clugiensis O.P.** (*BHL* : 9039) (alias : Pierre Calo, Pierre de Chioggia, Petrus de Clugia, Petrus Scalo de Clausia, Petrus Calo de Culgia[sic], mort vers 1348), *Légendier*, cf. Venise, Biblioteca Marciana, fonds latin IX.15-IX.20, 6 tomes réparties sur 3 volumes : vol. 1 = IX.15 et IX.16, vol. 2 = IX.17 et IX.18, vol. 3 = IX.20 et IX.20, (XIV<sup>e</sup> s., originaire du couvent des Frères Prêcheurs SS.-Giovanni e Paolo à Venise), f. 237-238 v° ; cf. York, Antique Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale Saint-Pierre, XVI.G. 23 (XV<sup>e</sup> s., début) , f. 65-65 v° ; cf. *infra*, A. Poncelet, « Le légendier de Pierre Calo », p. 44-48. **Nota bene** : Le légendier de Pierre Calo contient 863 notices. Le manuscrit de Venise est complet contenant toutes les 863 notices, le manuscrit de York, en revanche, n'en contient que 857, accusant ainsi une lacune de 6 notices. La notice n° 761 est celle qui concerne Severinus Boethius : « De Severino Romano (id est Boetio). Inc. Fuit alius Serverinus Romanus, qui fecit librum de consolatione Philosophiae – Des. Ut ipsemet dicit Boecius. » ; cf. *infra*, A. Poncelet, « Le légendier de Pierre Calo », p. 100 •

**Poncelet (Albertus)**, « Le légendier de Pierre Calo », dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 29, 1910, p. 5-116, cf. 30-34, 44-48, puis, pour la notice n° 761 sur Boèce, voir p. 100. **Nota bene** : L'article d'A. Poncelet constitue aujourd'hui encore une étude fondamentale sur le légendier de Pierre Calo •

**Quentin (Dom Henri)** O.S.B. (\*1872-†1935), *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge, étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, Paris, 1908, p. 465-649, p. 682-690, cf. p. 683 : Stemma généalogique du Martyrologe romain •

**Theodoricus Monachus** (Thierry, moine, vers 1191, cf. U. Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, t. II, col. 4458), *Chronicon Epternacense* Libri II, éd. Ludewicus Weiland, *MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, t. XXIII, (herausgegeben von G. H. Pertz), Hannover, 1874, Liber I, p. 39-47, Liber II, p. 47-64, cf. Liber I, p. 41, §6, ligne 30 : «... inter quos et Boetium virum clarissimum, insimulatum quod contra eum imperatori scripsisset, Veronae dampnatum et accusatum, duobus filliis eius in consulatu relictis, **Papiae in turre quae dicitur Fraudulenta reclusit, ubi et librum de consolatione phylosophiae dictavit.** Symmachum etiam patricium Ravennae [Theodoricus] occidit... » •

**Theophanes Byzántios chronógraphos** (Théophane de Byzance, chronographe, mort vers 577), *Chronographia*, éd. J. Classen, *CSHB* n° 26, Bonn, 1839-1841, 2 vol., cf. t. I, p. 261 •

**Usuardus Monachus Sancti Germani Pratensis** (Usuard de Saint-Germain-des-Près, mort le 13 janvier [idibus Ianuarii] 877), *Martyrologium*, cf. Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 13745 (entre 858 et 863 [?]), éd. Dom Jacques Dubois O.S.B., *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard, texte et commentaire*, (*BHL Subsidia Hagiographica* n° 40), Bruxelles, 1965, VI° – V° kalendas junii : 27-28 mai (p. 236-237), X° kalendas novembris : 23 octobre (p. 327) ; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 124, col. 79 et col. 609. **Nota bene** : Dans le martyrologe d'Usuard, aucune mention n'est faite du martyre et du culte de Severinus Boethius, ni au 28 mai, ni au 23 octobre •

**Valois (Henri de) Seigneur d'Orcé**, *Editio et annotatio excerpta autores ignoti de Constantio Chloro, Constantino Magno et aliis imp.*, ab Henrico Valesio primum edita et Ammiano Marcellino conjuncta, Paris, 1636 / Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1664. **Nota bene** : La chronique dit « *Anonymus Valesianus* », appelé aussi « *Excerpta Valesiana* », tire son nom du philologue français Henri de Valois (Henricus Valesius), lequel fit l'édition princeps de la dite chronique en 1636 •

**Wandelbertus Monachus Prumensis** (Wandelbert de Prüm, né vers 813 – mort vers 870), Martyrologe, éd. Ernest Dümmler, dans *MGH, Poetae latini aevi carolini*, t. 2, *Wandelberti Prumensis Carmina Martyrologium*, Berlin, 1884, p. 578-602, p. 586, p. 597; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, 121, col. 575-624, voir col. 599 (28 mai), col. 615 (23 oct.). **Nota bene** : Dans le martyrologe en vers de Wandelbert, comme dans celui d'Usuard, aucune mention n'est faite du martyre et du culte de Severinus Boethius, ni au 28 mai, ni au 23 octobre •

**Wion (Dom Arnold)** O.S.B., *Lignum Vitae*, ornamentum, et decus ecclesiae, in quinque libros divisum, in quibus totius sanctissimi religionis divi Benedicti initia, viri dignitate, doctrina, sanctitate ac principatu clari describuntur..., autore Dom Arnoldo Wion..., Venetiis, apud G. Angelerium, 1595, (deux parties en un seul volume). **Nota bene** : Dans le *Lignum vitae* de Dom Arnold

Wion, il n'y a aucune mention, ni aucun éloge consacré au martyr et au culte de Severinus Boethius, ni au 28 mai (p. 175-176), ni au 23 octobre (p. 348-349)

• *Explicit* •

Cf. [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=336](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=336)

• Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR | Mediaevalist | Musicologist | Proto-Philologist | 2015 •



---

**PROLOGUE**

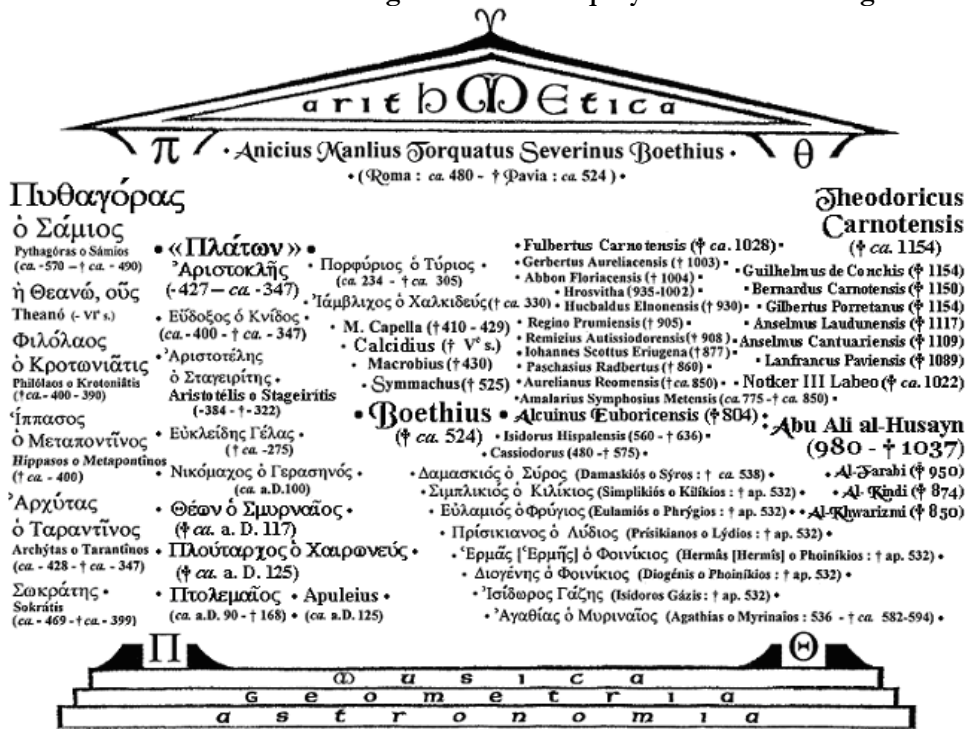
**BOETHIUS: BRIDGE BETWEEN ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES**

---



# PROLOGUE

## BOETHIUS: Powerful Bridge between Antiquity and the Middle Ages



© *Descriptio* I: Pythagóras to Boethius | Boethius to Thierry of Chartres •

• Illo Humphrey | Paris | April, 1997 •

**A**nicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius (\*Rome, *ca.* 480 – †Pavia, 524) was one of the powerful bridges of education and general culture between the European Antiquity and Middle Ages. He was the ideal receptacle (ἡ ὑποδοχή, ἡ χώρα) for the threefold scientific-philosophical-ethical *Tradition of Knowledge* which led up to him, and the ideal reservoir and source (τὸ ὑποδοχεῖον, ἡ κορήνη) for the thirty-three generations of Masters and pupils which followed him. Boethius, given the completeness of his παιδεία, *humanitas, eruditio institutioque in bonas artes* (general culture), can thus be considered the Father of western mediæval scientific-philosophical thought. Indeed, in his *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* Book I, Chapter 2, entitled ‘De substantia numeri’, Boethius declares: “*Omnia quaecunque a primæva rerum natura constructa sunt*• *numerorum*

*videntur ratione formata• Hoc enim fuit principale in animo conditoris exemplar•*” (“All things in nature [and in the universe], whatever they may be, were, so it seems, from the very beginning of the ages of time, constructed and formed through the reasoning of numbers. Indeed, this [the reasoning of numbers] was the principal model in the mind of the Creator.”)<sup>1</sup>. This extraordinary concept, instructive in all respects, is the fundamental tenet of Epistemology, that is to say the closely interrelated philosophy of knowing (τὰ νοητὰ ὄντα), of being (τὸ ὄν, ὄντος), of perceiving (τὰ αἰσθητὰ ὄντα), which is one of the conducting threads of the long-standing *Tradition of Knowledge* between Plato and Boethius, and indeed this concept is the key to understanding the substance of true ideas (ἡ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ οὐσία, οἱ νοητοὶ ἀριθμοί).

To be sure, in the rapidly evolving post-Roman civilization, the teachings of Boethius do not solve all the problems from a standpoint of pedagogical, scientific and philosophical research, neither in the realm of the philosophy of numbers and proportions (ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ τέχνη • *ars*

---

<sup>1</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 4v<sup>o</sup>: lines 17-19, G. Friedlein (ed.), Leipzig, 1867, p. 12; Illo Humphrey, Boethius *De institutione arithmetica libri duo. Édition proto-philologique intégrale princeps d'un manuscrit du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 14064), texte, gloses, notes tironiennes, signes de renvoi, IMM Vol. LXXXVI, Ottawa, 2007, p. 33-34. The *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* is a personalized and up-dated translation of the *Arithmitikí eisagógí* of Nikómachos o Gerasinós. In this treatise, Boethius develops, among others, the following themes: (a) the substance of true ideas through the philosophy of numbers and proportions (I,1: Proœmium, I,2: De substantia numeri [*On the substance of number*], I,7 De principalitate unitatis [*On the primacy of the number One*]), (b) the substance and the genesis of the conscience (II,2: De inueniendo in unoquoque numero quot numeros eiusdem proportionis possit praecedere eorumque descriptio descriptionisque expositio [*On the finding in each number <of Plato's animae generatio> how much each can govern other numbers of its same proportion, with diagram and analysis*]), (c) the substance and formation of musical consonances and intervals (II,54: De maxima et perfecta simphonia quae tribus distenditur interuallis [*On the most important and perfect <principle of the> musical consonance which extends itself over three intervals*]), whose origins go back to Plato's *Τίμαιος ἡ περὶ Φύσεως* [*Timaios or on Nature*, ¶ 35, 36]; Paris, Bnf, Fonds grec 1807, 375 mm x 250 mm, Constantinople, ca. 865, copyist unknown, 344 folios, 43 quires, f. 114r<sup>o</sup>-144v<sup>o</sup>, see f. 120v<sup>o</sup>-a: 20. This codex, siglum “A”, is the oldest known copie of Plato's Works, ranking 1<sup>st</sup> in the 16 *codices* which comprise what is known as the “Collection philosophique”; cf. Henri Omont, facsimile (2 Volumes), Paris, 1908; W. C. Greene, *Scholia Platonica*, Haverford, 1938 | Hildesheim, 1988.

*arithmetica*) nor in that of its “germain” cousin (ἡ μαθηματικὴ τέχνη • *ars mathematica*), neither in the realm of the philosophy of the formation of musical intervals (ἡ μουσικὴ τέχνη • *ars musica*), neither in the realm of the cognitive process<sup>2</sup>, namely: the genesis of the soul-consciousness-conscience (ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς γενεσις • ἡ ψυχογονία • *animæ generatio*), the faculty of the senses (τὸ αἰσθητήριον, –ου • *sensorium*) and sense perception (ἡ αἴσθησις, –εως • *perceptio* • *perceptio sensuum*), neither in the realm of the philosophy of sound and acoustics (ἡ ἀκουστικὴ τέχνη • τὸ ἀκουστόν • φθόγγος, –ου (ὁ) • φθέγγεσθαι • *phthongos* • *sonorum doctrina*), neither in the realm of the philosophy of the formation of objects (ἡ γεωμετρικὴ τέχνη • *ars geometrica*), neither in the realm of the philosophy of the celestial bodies (ἡ ἀστρονομικὴ τέχνη • *ars astronomica*), neither in the realm of the philosophy of the cognitive process (ἡ γνώμη, –ης • *cognitio*), neither in the realm of grammar, dialectics and logic (αἱ δέκα κατηγορίαι • *decem praedicamenta*), neither in that of moral ethics (τὰ [τῆς ψυχῆς] ἀγαθὰ • θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, or αἱ [τῆς ψυχῆς] ἠθικὰ ἄρεταί [τὸ ἠθικόν] • Latin: *summa bona divina* • *summa bona humana*, or *quattuor uirtutes animæ* • *ethice* • English: *Supreme Sovereign Good*; Plato *Laws*, Book I, VI: ¶631b-631c). Notwithstanding, the research and teachings of Boethius delve deeply into most of the above fields of research, allowing us direct access to the European scientific–philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, already a millennium old in his day. They also allow a better understanding of the unity between *science-knowledge* (ἡ ἐπιστήμη) and *philosophy-wisdom* (ἡ φιλοσοφία) through the study of what Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασινός (Nikómachos o Gerasinós *ca.* a. D. 100) calls

---

<sup>2</sup> Illo Humphrey, “Quelques observations sur le processus cognitif chez Platon et chez Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II - 2006 Boèce* ([Boethius], Rome, *ca.* 480 – Pavie, *ca.* 524), *l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, (Symposium held in Duras, France 47120, August 3-5, 2006), Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume II: ISBN 978-2-304-00566-0, Chapter 18, p. 407-439.

“αἱ τέσσαρες μέθοδοι”<sup>3</sup>, term which Boethius translated firstly, and literally, as “*quattuor matheseos disciplinae*”<sup>4</sup>, then figuratively as “*quadrivium*”, that is to say: *ars arithmetica*, *ars musica*, *ars geometrica*, *ars astronomica*<sup>5</sup>. These disciplines, and rightly so, are considered to be the fourfold immutable avenues of knowledge designed to lead the mind from a variable material level based on sense perception (τὰ αἰσθητὰ ὄντα • “*res uariabiles*”) to the most excellent immaterial level of consciousness (τὰ νοητὰ ὄντα • “[*res*] *quae natura incorporea sunt*”) based on the substance of true ideas<sup>6</sup>. The *quadrivium* reveals itself then to be the starting point of the cognitive process, the culminating point of which is the *summum bonum*, plural: *summa bona*.

The veritable σκοπός of this study, that is to say its true aim, is to bring better into focus the influence which the scientific-philosophical research and pedagogy of Boethius had on the European post-Roman culture and civilization between the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, period during which Europe structured its basic educational, scientific, philosophical and ethical *Unity of Culture*. Indeed, the influence of Boethius is not only present in the realm of the philosophy of numbers and proportions, of the formation of musical intervals and musical sound, of the cognitive process, of lines and forms, of celestial bodies, of grammar, of dialectics and logic, of rhetoric, of theology, of the philosophy of ethical morality, and in that of proto-philology, but also in the more subtle realm of general culture: ἡ παιδεία or ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία<sup>7</sup>, a mixture of “*eruditio institutioque*

<sup>3</sup> “αἱ τέσσαρες μέθοδοι”: Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή Α', γ': ζ'-ζ' [Arithmitikḗ eisagogḗ I,3: 6-7]; R. Hoche (ed.), 1864, p. VI, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica*, Prlogue, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 2r<sup>o</sup>: 1-3; ed. Friedlein, p. 5; ed. I. Humphrey, Ottawa, 2007, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I,1, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 2r<sup>o</sup>: l. 23, 24, f. 3v<sup>o</sup>: l. 2-4; Friedlein, p. 7: 19-27, p. 9: 28; I. Humphrey, Ottawa, 2007, p. 27, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica*, I,1, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 2v<sup>o</sup>: l. 6-14; G. Friedlein, p. 8: l. 8-15; I. Humphrey, Ottawa, 2007, p. 27-28.

<sup>7</sup> “The basic cycle of studies for the acquisition of general culture”; Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique*, Études augustiennes, CNRS, Paris, 1984, p. 263-293; Werner W. Jaeger, (translation by G. Highet): *Paideia the Ideals of Greek Culture*, Oxford (Blackwell/OUP), 1939/1986, Volume 1: *Archaic Greece & The Mind of Athens*, Volume 2: *In Search of the Divine Center*, Volume 3: *The Conflict Of Cultural Ideals In The*

*in bonas artes*” and “*summa bona*”<sup>8</sup>. This general culture has determined the manner in which the European mind formed its concepts of the civil society, of human nature, of nature, of the world, of the universe. Boethius, then, comes to the forefront as one of the most important sources for the new Carolingian and post-Carolingian branches of the scientific–philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge* as of 782, the year in which Alcuinus Euboricensis (Alcuin of York) assumed his new duties as *Præceptor* of the *Schola palatina* in “*Urbs aquensis, urbs regalis*”<sup>9</sup>, down to 1154, the year in which the last of the great chancellors of the dynasty of *Præceptores* of the *Schola Carontensis* (School of Chartres) died, that is to say Theodoricus [Terricus] Carnotensis seu Brito (Thierry of Chartres or Thierry the Breton).

Thus, in a broad historical perspective, this study spans a period beginning with the Frankish-Carolingian Empire, and ending with the Capetian dynasty of the French royalty, going from Charlemagne (\*747-†814), crowned King in 768 and Emperor in 800, down to Louis VII (\*1120-†1180) of the *Regnum Francorum* (*Western Francia*), and ending with the Staufien dynasty going down to Frederick I Barbarossa (\*1122-†1190) of the *Imperium Romanum Sacrum* (*Germania*). In a cultural context, it extends from the well-known *Capitularium* called *Admonitio generalis*<sup>10</sup>, emanating from Charlemagne and drafted

---

*Age Of Plato*; German: *Paideia. Die Formung des griechischen Menschen*, Berlin (Gruyter), 1934-1937, 1954, 1989.

<sup>8</sup> Instruction and fundamental learning in the good [liberal] arts: Aulus Gellius (\*125 – †ca. 185) *Noctes atticae* XIII,17; ‘summum bonum divinum’ (summit of divine Goodness, the Highest Good): Ciceronis *Partitiones oratoriae* 76-79, Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae* III,2,10,12; ‘quattuor uirtutes animae’ (the 4 virtues of the soul): Macrobian *Commentarium in somnium Scipionis* I, 8, 8).

<sup>9</sup> Aachen (*Aquisgranum*, *Aquis Grana*, *Aquae Grani*, *Aquensis urbs*) D–52062-52080, Germany, Land: North Rhine-Westphalia, Administrative Seat: Cologne; Erika Eisenlohr, “Die älteste Niederschrift der Sequenz *Urbs Aquensis urbs regalis* im letzten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts und ihre mögliche Verbindung zum Karlskult Barbarossas”, in *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 96, Aachen, 1989, p. 35-67.

<sup>10</sup> Alfred Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Vol. I, *MGH, Legum sectio II*, Vol. I, Hannoverae, 1883, p. 52-62, Capitularium 22: *Admonitio generalis*, articles 1 to 82, see article 72: *Sacerdotibus*, p. 60; Illo Humphrey, “La sténographie latine (notes dites ‘tironiennes’): état de la question (histoire et tradition manuscrite, transcription et édition critique, pratique)”, in *Colloquia Aquitana I – 2005 Études médiévales: Patrimoine matériel et immatériel*, (Symposium held in Duras, France 47120, August 5-6, 2005), Illo Humphrey

probably by Alcuin of York, whose traditional promulgation date is Monday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March, 789, to the drafting up of the code of Canon Law: *Concordia discordantium canonum*, also known as *Decretum Gratiani*, published in two recensions between 1139 and 1151 by the Italian Camaldolese monk Graziano<sup>11</sup>. In the context of basic education and higher learning, on which the influence of Boethius *via* Alcuin was fundamental, it goes from the *Schola palatina* in Aachen, and from the rural schools of the *Ordo palatii* in *Neustria*<sup>12</sup>, to the urban schools known as *Studia generalia*, and later as *Universitas magistrorum atque scholarium uel discipulorum*, that is to say the first European Universities<sup>13</sup>. Finally, in an ecclesiastical context it goes from the

---

(ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), Chapter 4, p. 99-152, see pages 103, 104, 147-149; note 17, note 40: manuscript tradition of the *Capitularia regum Francorum*.

<sup>11</sup> [Giovanni] or [Francesco] Graziano ([Iohannes] Gratianus †ca. 1160), a member of the Camaldolese congregation (of Benedictine obedience), was Magister (Lecturer) at the Monastery of San Felice and San Naborre in Bologna, Italy, and author–organizer–compiler of the *Concordia discordantium canonum* (Canon Law Code in 3 parts: *Distinctiones*, *Causae*, *De consecratione*); Anders Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum*, New York, Cambridge, 2000; Idem, “The Two Recensions of Gratian's Decretum”, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 83 (1997), p. 22-31.

<sup>12</sup> *Ordo palatii* in *Neustria*: J. Heuclin, “Les abbés des monastères neustriens 650-850”, in *La Neustrie. Les pays du nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, Hartmut Atsma (ed.), Sigmaringen, 1989, Vol. I, p. 331, 334, 335, 337.

<sup>13</sup> *Studia generalia, Universitas magistrorum atque scholarium uel discipulorum*: Bologna (ca. 1088), Paris (ca. 1150 • 1208-1210), Montpellier (ca. 1137 – 1160 • 1289), Oxford (ca. 1167 • 1249), Reggio Emilia – Modena (ca. 1175), Salerno (9<sup>th</sup> c. • 12<sup>th</sup> c. [?]), Vicenza (ca. 1204), Cambridge (ca. 1209 • 1284), Palencia, Spain (ca. 1212). **Nota bene:** The second date indicates the date of recognition by papal bull; Mordechai Feingold, *History of universities*, XVI/1, XVII, XVIII/1, XVIII/2, XIX, XX/1, XX/2, XXI/1, XXI/2, XXII/1, XXII/1, XXIII/2, Oxford, 2000-2008; *A History of the University in Europe*, Vol. I: *University in the Middle Ages*, Walter Rugg, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (eds.), Cambridge University Press, 1991 | 2003; contributors: Walter Rugg, Jacques Verger, Paolo Nardi, Aleksander Gieysztor, Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Peter Moraw, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Gordon Leff, John North, Nancy Siraisi, Antonio García Y. García, Monika Asztalos; Olaf Pedersen, *The first Universities. Studium Generale and the origins of University Education in Europe*, Cambridge, 1997, 10 chapters, Index of names, 307 pages; George Makdisi, “The scholastic Method in the medieval Education: an Inquiry into its Origins in Laws and Theology”, in *Speculum* N° 49 (October, 1974), p. 640-661; Hastings Rashdall (1858-1924), *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*,

pontificates of Pope Adrian I: 772-795 to Pope Adrian IV (Nicolas Breakspeare): 1154-1159.

This period was indeed the cultural time frame of the new Carolingian and post-Carolingian branches of the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, in which the works of Boethius were copied, assimilated, illuminated, imitated, abundantly glossed and commentated upon, and, in part, translated by both master and pupil alike, male and female.




---

vol. I. *Salerno. Bologna. Paris*; Vol. II, part 1. *Italy. Spain. France. Germany. Scotland*, etc.; Vol. II, part 2. *English universities. Student life*, Oxford, 1895 (17 editions: 1895-1951); Friedrich Heinrich Suso Denifle (\*1844-†1905, O.P.): *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885; *Chartularium Universitatis parisiensis*, Paris, Vol. I (1200-1286): 1889 | Graz, 1956; Vol. II (1286-1350): 1891; Vol. III (1350-1394): 1894; Vol. IV (1394-1452): 1897; *Les universités françaises au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1892.

---

## CHAPTER 1: BOETHIUS AND ALCUIN OF YORK

---



## CHAPTER 1

**BOETHIUS AND ALCUIN OF YORK**  
 (Northumbria, \*ca.730-735 – †Tours, 804),  
*Praeceptor* of Charlemagne's royal School,  
*Schola Palatina*, in Aachen, Germany

An attentive study of certain Carolingian and post-Carolingian Masters reveals that not only the *mathematicus* • *musicus* • *geometres* • *astronomus* received basic scientific–philosophical training, but also all children and all scholars, both male and female, having had the privilege of attending the monastic and cathedral schools, and this, regardless of the finality of their respective studies. This is particularly true, as of 782, of the schools belonging to the royal and, as of the year 800, the imperial network of the *Ordo palatii* in the territory of *Neustria*, situated in western *Francia* between Aachen on the North and Tours on the South. These schools were firstly located in: Saint-Amand, Corbie, Saint-Riquier (*Centula*), Saint-Denis, Saint-Martin of Tours, and, *a fortiori causa*, the *Schola palatina* at “*Urbs Aquensis*”; then, in the schools of Laon, Soissons, Fleury-sur-Loire (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire), Ferrières, Auxerre, etc., and in those in the territory of *Austrasia*, such as: *Augia insula* (Reichnau Island), Fulda, Lorsch, *Corbeia noua* (Corvey), etc.<sup>14</sup> Thanks to the insight of Alcuinus Euboricensis, whom the historian and biographer of Charlemagne, Eginhardus<sup>15</sup> (ca. 770 – ca. 840), in his *Vita*

<sup>14</sup> Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A provisional list of Manuscripts*, Hilversum, 1989, p. 15-44, 46, 48, 51, 88, 161, 184, etc.; Paul Lehmann (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz I: Die Diözesen Konstanz und Chur*, Munich, 1918, p. 258: 24; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 179-182; Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften*, Munich, 1974, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Lorsch, 1989; Angelika Häse: *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch. Einleitung*, Edition und Kommentar, Wiesbaden, 2002.

<sup>15</sup> *Einhardi Vita Karoli magni; Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH): Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 25, Oswald Holder-Egger (ed.), Hannover–Leipzig, 1911, p. 30; <http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/egiv25.html>; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1911, Vol. I, p. 273-288; J. Fleckenstein, “Alcuin im Kreis der Hofgelehrten Karls des Grossen”, in *Science in Eastern and Western Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. P. Butzer, D. Lohrmann, Basel, 1993, p. 3-21, cf. p. 18; J. Fried, “Karl der Grosse, die Artes liberales und die karolingische renaissance”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, P. Butzer

*Karoli Magni* XXV, lauded as being “*uir undecumque doctissimus*” (a man in all respects altogether learned), the fusion between the ancient Pythagorean and Platonic scientific–philosophical Tradition of Knowledge and the new Carolingian branch became reality. Alcuin of York, who, as indicated above, was the the *Praeceptor* of the *Schola palatina* at *Urbs Aquensis* (D-52080 Aachen) from ca. 782 to 796 and the Abbot of Saint-Martin of Tours from 796 to his death in 804, played, thus, a vital role in reshaping the educational and scientific–philosophical general culture of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian civilization<sup>16</sup>. This general culture is based in part on the fourfold disciplines of the *quadrivium* or *quadrivium*<sup>17</sup> (*ars arithmetica*, *ars musica*, *ars geometrica*, *ars astronomica*), term invented, so it seems, by Boethius himself in his *De arithmetica* I,1, and on the threefold disciplines of the

---

(ed.), 1997, Vol. I, p. 25-42, p. 23, 31- 35, 42, 43; G. Leff, “Alcuin of York”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, 1998, Vol. II, p. 3-9; Matthias M. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli Magni. Studien, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, LXX, VI, MGH, Schriften: 48, 2001.

<sup>16</sup> Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, (*Education and Society in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* 16), being a part of the Ford Lectures delivered in Oxford Hilary Term, 1980, posthumous, Leiden, Boston (Brill), 2003, p. 346, 385-435, here the author suggests that Alcuin arrived on the Continent in 786.

<sup>17</sup> *Quadrivium*: It was Boethius himself who, at the very beginning of his *De institutione arithmetica*, employed for the first time, so it seems, the word-concept *quadrivium* in its figurative sense, modelled after the concept *bivium*. The term *quadrivium* is therefore a figurative synonym of “*quattuor matheseos disciplinae*”, which Boethius gives in the following order: *arithmetica*, *musica*, *geometria*, *astronomia*, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, Prologue (end), I,1: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 3 v<sup>o</sup>: lines 2-4, Friedlein, p. 9: lines 28-29, p. 10: line 1, indicating explicitly at the end of the Prologue the preeminence of *ars arithmetica*; G. Friedlein, p. 5: lines 5-8; I. Humphrey, Ottawa, 2007, p. 26: “*Cum igitur quattuor matheseos disciplinarum de arithmetica quae est prima perscriberem*”. It is useful to note here that the term *quadrivium*, or *quadrivium*, is well-known in the Latin language in its literal sense, and is employed in the writings of:

- (a) Caius Valerius Catullus, (Verona, ca. 54 BCE), *Catulli Carmina*, LVIII, 4, “...in quadriuiis et angustis”, L. Müller (ed.), Leipzig, 1885, p. 28;
- (b) Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis (\*Aquinum Latium, ca. a. D. 60 - †ca. 130), *Satirae* I, 63-64, “nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces quadrivio”, C. F. Hermann (ed.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Satirarum libri quinque accedit Supplicae Satira*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 3.

*trivium*<sup>18</sup> (*ars grammatica, ars dialectica, ars rhetorica*), term in vogue as of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, so it seems. These sevenfold disciplines combined together form the *canon* of the *Liberal Arts*, in Greek: “αἱ ἐλευθέριοι τέχναι”<sup>19</sup>, and in Latin: “*artes liberales*”, stemming from the concept “ἡ παιδεία”, or “ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία” (ancestor of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century term “*encyclopaedia*”), “ἡ παιδεία” being a fundamental recurring educational concept in Plato’s Works<sup>20</sup>. This concept, as of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, evolved slowly into what became known in Latin as *humanitas, eruditio institutioque in bonas artes, artes*

<sup>18</sup> *Trivium*: This term seems to have come into vogue as of the 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> century; the following references give good insight into its history: P. Rajna, “Le denominazioni Trivium e Quadrivium con un singolare accessorio”, in *Studi Medievali*, N.S. 1, 1928, p. 4-36; Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, 1958, reprint 1983, p. 212, 213; Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, p. 99, 100, 115-116, 156.

<sup>19</sup> Πλούταρχος ὁ Χαιρωνεύς (Ploútarchos o Chaironeús, †ca. 120 a. D.), Ὑγαινὰ παράγγελμα I, F. Dübner (ed.), *Plutarchi Scripta moralia*, Vol. II, Paris (Firmin Didot), 1856; Σέξτος ὁ Ἐμπεirikός, Ψπζ’ (Séxtos o Empeirikós [3<sup>rd</sup> century a. D.], 686); H. Mutschmann et J. Mau (eds.), Leipzig, 1954, 1961; Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, p. 272, 275 n. 69; “αἱ ἐλευθέριοι τέχναι”, meaning liberal arts or disciplines worthy of free citizens, as opposed to “αἱ βάνουσοι τέχναι”, that is to say sedentary manual arts and crafts of artisans.

<sup>20</sup> ἡ παιδεία, cf. Plato, Πολιτεία (*Republic*, III,412c, VII,534d); Plato Τίμαιος 44, 86b, 88b; Plato Νόμοι (*Laws*, III,701d, VII,788-790); Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 B.C. – 43 B.C.), *De oratore*, III,32 [127]; Aurelius Augustinus (354-430), *De ordine*, II,7: 24, II, 8: 25, etc.; I. Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, p. 52, 101, 221-222, 272; *artes liberales*, (or *artes liberae, artes pueriles*), meaning the different arts or disciplines based on scientific-philosophical reasoning worthy of free men, women and children. **Nota bene:** It is useful to understand that the *artes liberales* had not always been a fixed canon of 7 disciplines, indeed their composition was variable until the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries a. D.; the *quadrivium* and the *trivium*, modelled perhaps after Porphyrios ο Τύριος (*Eisagogé*, A. Busse (ed.), Berlin, 1887, p. 1: 5-6; *RISM [Greek]*, B-XI, p. 278), were adopted by Aurelius Augustinus in his *De ordine*, II,7,8,12, and by Martianus Capella in his *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii libri IX*. Thus, on the authority of these two masters, the association of the 4 + 3 Liberal Arts became the basic canon of general culture for the new post-Roman European *Tradition of Knowledge*; I. Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, p. 100, 187-188.

*liberales, liberalia studia*<sup>21</sup>, that is to say the complete education from childhood to adulthood, and the cycle of studies for the basic education of free citizens, designed for the acquisition of general culture.

Alcuinus Euboricensis, also known as Ealhwine, Alchvine, Albinus, Alcuinus “*Beatus Flaccus*”<sup>22</sup>, having become the “*Praeceptor Galliae*” and recognized as “*uirum undecumque doctissimum,...*”, had attained in the new branch of the Carolingian scientific-philosophical Tradition of Knowledge the stature of being “*Inter omnes priscae auctoritatis uiros...*”<sup>23</sup>, whose authority in matters of science, philosophy, theology, general wisdom, and general culture, was subordinate only to that of Boethius himself.

Alcuin, a student of Ægberht, and therefore a direct apprentice-descendant of the Venerable Bede (†Thursday, May 26, 735)<sup>24</sup>, was born

<sup>21</sup> Cicero *De oratore* I, III,11; Aulus Gellius *Noctes atticae* XIII,17; I. Hadot, *Ibid.*, p. 63-69, 75, 96-99, 202-206.

<sup>22</sup> D. Singmaster, “The History of some of Alcuin’s Propositions”, in *Symposium Carolus Magnus: 1200 Years of Civilisation and Science in Europe, Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken. 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*, [Symposium held in Aachen, Germany, March 19–26, 1995, a collection of 21 + 35 articles in 2 Volumes], see Vol. II, *Mathematisches Wissen*, Turnhout (Brepols), 1998, P. Butzer, W. Oberschelp, H. Jongen (eds.), with J. Bemelmans, W. Dahmen, A. Krieg, W. Plesken, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* I,1; Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 2r<sup>o</sup>: lines 20 – 21; Friedlein, p. 7, line 20: “*Inter omnes priscae auctoritatis uiros philagora[sic] duce puriore mentis ratione uiguerunt*”

<sup>24</sup> Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, “Bède dans les *Lettres* d’Alcuin: de la source à l’exemplum” in *Bède le Vénérable. Entre tradition et postérité*, Stéphane Lebecq, Michel Perrin, Olivier Szerwiniack (eds.), Lille (France – 59000), CEGES, 2005, p. 223-230; Symposium held at the University of Lille 3, Villeneuve d’Ascq, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, 2002; in the 300 odd personal letters of Alcuin, as well as in his well-known poème *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*, he mentions Bede numerous times with veneration and respect: *Beatus Bæda*, *Bæda magister noster*, *Bæda Dei famulus*, *nostri didascalus aevi*, *Bæda presbyter eximius meritis*, *Bæda praeclarus doctor*, etc.; E. Dümmler, u. a. (eds.), *Epistolae* (II), MGH, Berlin, 1895 (reprint 1994), p. 1-493; S. Allott, *Alcuin of York: His Life and Letters*, York, 1974; D. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, p. 43-110, suggests that only ca. 285 of Alcuin’s letters survive. Nota bene: It is useful here to indicate the three lectures on Alcuin given at the 2008 Kalamazoo Congress by: (1) Rolf H. Bremmer (University of Leiden), “Ælfaric’s Downsized Version of Alcuin’s *Investigationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*: Enough is Enough”, (2) Jennifer R. Davis

near York between 730-735, and died on the Continent at the Abbey of St.-Martin of Tours, on Sunday, the 19<sup>th</sup> of May in the leap-year GF 804. He studied at St.-Peter's Cathedral School of York, became there *Diaconus* and *Magister*, serving also as *Custos Armarii* (Librarian) of the School Library. From 767 to 778, Alcuin shared the direction of St.-Peter's of York with his colleague Eanbald. When Eanbald was elected Archbishop of York (Eanbald I, ca. 778-780-796), Alcuin, then approximately 48 years old, was appointed *Praeceptor* of the Cathedral School of York. He thus became the successor of his two masters, both successively Archbishops of York: Ægberht (†ca. 766-767) and Ælberht (†ca. 780-781)<sup>25</sup>, 'happily stimulating and inspiring' his pupils.

Alcuin's second Master, Ælberht, upon his death around 781, bequeathed to Alcuin his personal library, the fruit of years of careful gleanning. With this remarkable library, Alcuin had then at his disposal a veritable *banque de savoir*, pluridisciplinary and well-balanced, in the realms the arts, the sciences and the humanities, in all respects unique for this period. Alcuin's new library included works by Πορφύριος ὁ Τύριος [Porphýrios o Týrios] (†305), Marius Victorinus (†370), Donatus (†4<sup>th</sup> c.), Priscianus (†6<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>26</sup>, the *Commentarius in Timaeum* by

---

(Catholic University of America), "Alcuin's Letters to Kings", (3) Michael Fox (University of Alberta), "Alcuin's Letters in Anglo-Saxon England", presented at Session 1, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: Alcuin*, Thursday, May 8, 2008 at 10 a.m. (Valley III, Room 303), in *43<sup>rd</sup> International Congress on Medieval Studies*, May 8–11, 2008, Western Michigan University, p. 2. These three well-documented lectures bring fresh insight into the cultural heritage of Alcuin, and into the influence which he exercised on Carolingian thought and behaviour through his works and epistolary correspondance.

<sup>25</sup> E. Dümmmler, *MGH, Poetae latini aevi carolini*, Vol. I (pars prior), Berlin, 1886, p. 162-169; G. Leff, "Alcuin of York (ca. 730-804)", in Karl der Grosse..., P. Butzer, u.a. (eds.), Vol. II, p. 6; D. Bullough, *Alcuin...*, p. 236-253.

<sup>26</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, Cambridge (UK), 1990, p. 199; L. Holtz, "Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux", in *Carolus Magnus: 1200 Years of Civilisation and Science in Europe, Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken. 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*, [Symposium held in Aachen, Germany, March from the 19-26, 1995: a collection of 21 + 35 articles in 2 Volumes], see Volume I, *Wissen und Weltbild*, Turnhout (Brepols), 1997, P. Butzer, M. Kerner, W. Oberschelp, P. Butzer, u.a. (eds.), Vol. I, p. 47-51, 54-59; M. Garrison, "The English and the Irish at the Court of Charlemagne", in *Karl der Grosse...*, P. Butzer, u.a. (eds.), Vol. I, *Wissen und Weltbild*, p. 108.

Calcidius (5<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>27</sup>; and, indeed, it is here in no wise unreasonable to advance the hypothesis that the said library bequeathed to Alcuin by Ælberht, now either lost, dispersed or unidentified, may very well have contained the *opera omnia* of Boethius.

This remarkable *banque de savoir*, of which Alcuin was now the legal owner, most certainly helped lay the foundation for the new *curriculum* of the *Schola palatina* and of the monastic and cathedral schools. It was most certainly a determining factor in the structuring of the new school system based, in part, on the fundamental *canon* of the sevenfold disciplines of the *Liberal Arts*, as well as on the more subtle strata of the ethical-moral virtues of the *summa bona*, for all of Western Europe between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>28</sup>.

Alcuin was *Praeceptor* of the Cathedral School of York during the years preceding his appointment at the *Schola palatina* in “*Urbs Aquensis • urbs regalis*”<sup>29</sup>. This personal invitation extended to Alcuin by Charlemagne took place in March 781, when Alcuin, on his return voyage from Rome, met with Charlemagne in Parma; indeed, Alcuin accepted the invitation, but not without a certain hesitation and apprehension<sup>30</sup>.

Having received thorough pluridisciplinary training at the Cathedral School of York in the arts, sciences, and humanities of the new branch of the *Tradition of Knowledge*, such as: scientific philosophy,

---

<sup>27</sup> J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 31, 51-52, 57 ; it is interesting to note that Alcuin does not seem to have known the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella, which was nonetheless cited at Bobbio at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century in the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum: Expositio latinitatis*; B. Bischoff et B. Leofstedt (eds.), in *CCSL* t. 133 D, Turnhout (Brepols), 1990; Reviewed by Anne Grondeux, *ALMA, Bulletin du Cange*, 1992-1993, Vol. LI, p. 245-247.

<sup>28</sup> J. Fried, “Karl der Grosse, die Artes liberales und die karolingische Renaissance”, in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken*. Vol. I, *Wissen und Weltbild*, P. Butzer, u. a. (eds.), p. 34-35.

<sup>29</sup> Erika Eisenlohr, “Die älteste Niederschrift der Sequenz *Urbs Aquensis urbs regalis*”, see, above, p. 45, note 9.

<sup>30</sup> Alcuin seems to have been reluctant to go to Aachen, in spite of the invitation of Charlemagne. Indeed, before making this important decision, he consulted at length his former Co-Director of the Cathedral School of York, Eanbald I, who in the meantime had become Archbishop of York; G. Leff, “Alcuin of York (ca. 730-804)”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, Vol. II, *Mathematisches Wissen*, P. Butzer, u.a. (eds.), p. 6.

ethics, law, proto-philology, theology, biblical studies, liturgy, liturgical music, literature, grammar, iconography, history, technology, etc., having had a rich experience as *Armarius*, *Magister* and *Præceptor* at the School of York, then too having recently acquired from his second Master Ælberht a remarkable *banque de savoir*, his own personal research library at York, Alcuin was perfectly equipped to begin the training of a new generation of Carolingian Masters specialized in the sevenfold *canon* of the *Liberal Arts*, and to establish a new, ambitious, and coherent school *curriculum* modelled after the the ancient “ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία”<sup>31</sup>, direct heritage, so it seems, of the “Middle Platonist”<sup>32</sup> period, attested in the *De architectura* of Vitruvius<sup>33</sup>. Thus, this new school *curriculum* was based on the rapidly evolving needs of the new European civilization, albeit deeply rooted in the pluricultural heritage of Antiquity, already some forty generations old dating from Pythagoras, Philolaos, Archytas and Plato. Preceded and accompanied by “*scotti peregrini*”<sup>34</sup>, among whom former students at York, Alcuin, at this point, was without doubt keenly aware of the far-reaching cultural, political and civilizational significance of his appointment as he assumed his duties in the Carolingian court at “*Urbs aquensis, urbs regalis*”.

Alcuin’s research, teachings and pedagogical background are well-known, thanks in part to his autobiographical poem *Versus de*

---

<sup>31</sup> Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, Chapter VI: p. 263-293; see, above, note 7.

<sup>32</sup> Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, p. 11-24, 63-90, 91-100; J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: A Study of Platonism 80 BC to 220 AD*, London, 1977, Ithaca, N. Y., 1996.

<sup>33</sup> Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (\*ca. 80-70 BCE - †ca. 25 BCE), *De architectura* I, 1:12, “Cum autem animadverterint omnes disciplinas inter se coniunctionem rerum et communicationem habere, fieri posse facilliter credent; encyclios enim disciplina uti corpus unum ex his membris est composita.”; [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/1\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/1*.html); Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, p. 265-266.

<sup>34</sup> “*scotti peregrini*” (“Scottish foreigners”): cf. Mary Garrison, “The English and the Irish at the Court of Charlemagne”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, P. Butzer, u. a., (eds.), Vol. I, *Wissen und Weltbild*, p. 97-118, Bibliography: p. 118-123; Mary Garrison’s remarkable prosopographical study signals the presence of ‘*scotti peregrini*’, at the Carolingian court in Aachen: Clemens (who arrived in Aachen before Alcuin), Witto [Withso, Wizzo, Wizo] (Candidus), Frithugils (Fridugisus) Abbot of Saint-Martin of Tours and of Saint-Paul of Cormery, after Alcuin’s death, from 804 to 834), Dicuil (astronomer), Dungal (astronomer), Hibernicus Exul, Joseph Scottus (of Irish origine), etc.

*patribus regibus et sanctis euboricensis ecclesiae*<sup>35</sup>, dated between 782 and 790. In this very instructive *Versus*, Alcuin gives us a clear insight into the history of the School of York, as well as a list of the authors inscribed in the school's *curriculum*, among whom: Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Σταγειρίτης [Aristotélis o Stageirítis], Marcus Tullius Cicero, Marius Victorinus, Severinus Boethius (see verses: 1547-1549), all of whose research and teachings were an integral part of the new Carolingian branch of the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*<sup>36</sup>.

It has often been believed that this list corresponds to the contents of Alcuin's personal library at York, and consequently, in part, to the hypothetical library of the *Schola palatina* in Aachen<sup>37</sup>, as well as to the contents, in part, of the library of *Augia insula*. This point of view is in no wise bereft of interest; indeed, one observes a similarity between the Alcuin inventory and that of the catalogue of *Augia insula* (Reichenau Island) of the year 821, in which is found the first known

---

<sup>35</sup> P. Godman, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, Oxford, 1983, p. 123-126; MGH, *Poetae latini aevi carolini*, E. Dümmler (ed.), Vol. I (pars prior), Berlin, 1886, p. 201; in this poem, the *quattuor matheseos disciplinæ* are mentioned in the following verses: *musica*: vs. 1436-1439; *harmonia caeli*: vs. 1440; *astrorum leges*: vs. 1442; *arithmetica et geometria*: vs. 1445; L. Holtz, "Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux", in *Karl der Grosse...*, Vol. I, p. 47-51.

<sup>36</sup> 30 to 40 years separate the composition of the *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis euboricensis ecclesiae* by Alcuin and the first known carolingian citations of the works of Boethius. If one admits the hypothesis that the opera omnia of Boethius were preserved intact in Alcuin's Library at York, and, that parts of the said Library were transferred to Aachen and later to Tours, one may deduce that it took several decades for the new generation of Masters to copy, to thoroughly assimilate, and to comment upon the works of Boethius studies in the network of the schools of the "Ordo palatii", first in *Neustria*, such as: Saint-Amand, Corbie, Saint-Riquier, Saint-Denis, Saint-Martin de Tours, Fleury, etc., then in *Austrasia*, such as: Reichenau Insel, Fulda, Lorsch, Corvey, etc.; cf. D. Bullough, *Alcuin...*, p. 253, 268-271, here the author, discussing the Alcuin *Versus*, gives good insight into the liberal arts curriculum of the Saint-Peter's Cathedral School of York, as well as its library.

<sup>37</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, "Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen", in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Vol. II: Das geistige Leben, B. Bischoff, Düsseldorf (ed.), 1965, p. 42; Michael Bernhard, "Rezeption des Institutio Musica des Boethius im frühen Mittelalter", in *Boèce ou la chaîne des savoirs*, A. Galonnier (ed.), Louvain – Paris, 2003, p. 601-612.



mention of a copy of Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*<sup>38</sup>. Albeit, without denying the pertinence of this hypothesis, assuredly worthy of attention, it would be fitting for the moment to leave the question open while awaiting more precise research on the subject<sup>39</sup>.

### Observations on Alcuin of York

Alcuin's mastery of scientific-philosophical research, pedagogy, and proto-philology of the Pythagorean-Platonic *Tradition of Knowledge* was manifest in his diverse writings, among which his *De grammatica* and *Disputatio de rhetorica et de uirtutibus*...<sup>40</sup>, the fruit of combined influences: Boethius (†ca. 524), Priscianus Caesariensis (†ca. 530), Cassiodorus (†ca. 575), Isidorus Hispalensis (†ca. 636), as well as the *Propositiones* attributed to him on arithmetical and geometrical reasoning designed to ensure the suppleness of the mind; the said works of Alcuin have come down to us almost intact. Moreover, Alcuin, Minister of Education and Minister of General Culture under Charlemagne, was, so it seems, the author of certain *capitularia* emanating from the chancery of Charlemagne, namely: *Admonitio*

---

<sup>38</sup> Paul Lehmann (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz I: Die Diözesen Konstanz und Chur*, Munich, 1918, p. 258: 24; R. McKitterick, *Ibid.*, p. 179-182. The 9<sup>th</sup>-century Reichenau Library catalogue was drafted up by the *Custos Armarii* or *Armarius* (Librarian), Reginbertus, who died in 846.

<sup>39</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *Ibid.*, p. 175-178, 179-182, 198-200; *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau. Erinnerungsschrift zur zwölfhundertsten Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahr des Inselklosters 724-1924*, Konrad Beyerle (ed.), 2 Volumes, Munich 1925, reprint, Aalen (Scientia-Verlag), 1970; *Idem* (ed.), *Bibliothek und Schreibstube der mittelalterlichen Reichenau*, Munich, 1925.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Alcuini *De grammatica* [or *De grammata*, or *Disputatio de uera philosophia*], J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, (P. L.): Vol. 101, col. 853-854; Alcuini *Disputatio de rhetorica et De uirtutibus sapientissimi regis Karli et Albini magistri*: Vol. 101, col. 947 (¶ 332: IV); G. Hidrio, "Philosophie et Sagesse divine dans les premières enluminures du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce (X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): une lecture chrétienne du traité de Boèce", in *Colloquia Aquitana II. Boèce...*, I. Humphrey (ed.), Paris, 2009, Vol. I, p. 231-235 (notes 53-66); T. Shimizu, "Alcuin's Theory of Signification and System of Philosophy", in *Didascalía* 2, 1996, p. 1-18; cf. *Propositiones*: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/alcuin/propos.shtml>; certain *Propositiones* of Alcuin were addressed directly to Charlemagne by letter; see D. Singmaster, "The History of some of Alcuin's Propositions", in *Karl der Grosse...*, Vol. II, p. 14-26.

*generalis* (promulgated the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March, 789)<sup>41</sup>, *Epistola generalis*<sup>42</sup>, *Epistola de litteris colendis*<sup>43</sup>, all three of which concern the educational reforms and the restoration of general culture, called *correctio* or *renovatio*, which was undertaken by the Carolingian Monarch; these reforms, as indicated above, were in part based on the sevenfold *canon* of the *Liberal Arts*. It is useful to note here that of the three aforementioned *capitularia* on educational reforms, only the *Epistula generalis* mentions explicitly that the *artes liberales* should be fully learned and mastered<sup>44</sup>.

Alcuin, whose motto was “*disce ut doceas*”<sup>45</sup>, comes forth as being the key personality of the new Carolingian and post-Carolingian branch of the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*. Indeed, his true humanitarian outlook and sensitivity, his kindness, patience, humility, excellent training, his remarkable *banque de savoir* (his library), and his vision, made of him a unique and stable foundation on which the development of the school systems of all of Europe found good footing. Thus, the richness of Alcuin’s mind, the quality of his

---

<sup>41</sup> Alfred Boretius (ed.), *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Vol. I, *MGH, Legum sectio II* (Vol. I), Hannoverae, 1883, p. 52-62, Capitularium Nr. 22: *Admonitio generalis*, articles 1 – 82, see article 72: *Sacerdotibus*, p. 60: “...et ut scholae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum [sic], grammaticam, per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate...”; see above note 10; for the manuscript tradition of the *Capitularia*, see <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~jurarom/manuscr/Can&RomL/titles/10657.htm>.

<sup>42</sup> A. Boretius (ed.), *Capitularia regum Francorum*, p. 80: *Epistola generalis*, written between 786 and 800.

<sup>43</sup> A. Boretius (ed.), *Capitularia regum Francorum*, p. 78-79: *Epistola de litteris colendis*, written between 780 and 800; Luitpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: studies in carolingian history and literature*, Cornell studies in classical philology 32, Cornell University Press, Ithica, N. Y., 1959, p. 198-230; Idem, “Charlemagne and Alcuin: Diplomatic Studies in Carolingian Epistolography”, in *Traditio* 9, 1953, p. 127; L. Holtz, “Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, Vol. I, 1997, p. 51-54; D. Bullough, *Alcuin...*, p. 385.

<sup>44</sup> “...et ad pernoscenda studia liberalium artium nostro etiam quos possumus inuitamus exemplo”; A. Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, p. 80.

<sup>45</sup> This motto, “*disce ut doceas*”, which means learn in order to teach, or variants thereof, is a *leitmotiv* in Alcuin’s writing; it was inspired by the Venerable Bede in his *História ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, V,24; Luitpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: studies in carolingian history and literature*, p. 211; L. Holtz, “Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, Vol. I, 1997, p. 59.

spirit, and the extent of his talent as *Praeceptor Galliae*, would lead one to believe that he not only had fully assimilated the basic Platonic-Boethian concepts of the *substantia numeri* and of the *summa bona*<sup>46</sup>, but, indeed, that he had been nurtured from an early age on the works, the mind, the personality, the research, and the teachings of Boethius.




---

<sup>46</sup> Alcuin's behaviour indicates implicitly that he understood the entire cognitive process of the acquisition of true wisdom, beginning with the philosophy of the essence of numbers and proportions (*substantia numeri*) and ending with the *Supreme divine Good* (*summa bona diuina*). Indeed, Boethius defines the summum bonum as the highest state of beatitude "*sed summum bonum beatitudinem esse definiuimus*", *Consolatio Philosophiae* III, prosa 2, the *summum bonum* being the culminating point of the maturing process towards supreme wisdom (divine wisdom), the beginning point being the understanding of the *substantia numeri*. This corresponds to the 5 stages of the "Eleusinian Mysteries" (αἱ ἐλευσίνιαι τελεταί or αἱ ἐλευσίνιαι μυστήρια): ἡ καθάρσις (purification), ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις (tradition of mysteries), ἡ ἐποπτεία (initiation), ὁ ἐπίδεσμος καὶ ἡ ἐπίθεσις τῶν στέφανων (ligatures and imposition of crowns), ἡ εὐδαιμονία (happiness, bliss, the supreme state of beatitude, meaning the summum bona diuina humanae, i. e. τὰ ἀγαθὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα: Plato *Laws*, I, VI, 631b; Θεὸν ο Σμυρναῖος (†117), Πλατωνι κοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὸ μαθηματικὸν χρησίμων εἰς τὴν Πλάτωνος ἀν-ἀγνωσιν [Théon o Smyrnaïos, *From a Platonist on things useful to know in the field of mathematics while studying certain works of Plato*], E. Hiller (ed.), p. 14: 18; Ilsetraut Hadot, *Ibid.*, p. 72; Edward A. Beach, "The Eleusinian Mysteries", cf. <http://users.erols.com/nbeach/eleusis.html>: Evansville, Indiana 47722 (USA), 1995, 4 Plates (Dimítir and Hekáti | painted vase | Dimítir and Persephóni | Bas-Relief ), 39 bibliographical references.

**Nota bene:** Whether or not the general culture of Alcuin included knowledge of the Eleusinian Mysteries, is not known with certainty; however, his writings, e. g. *Versus de patribus regibus* and *De grammatica* (cf. *supra*, notes 35 and 40), clearly indicate that he well understood the fundamental functioning of the cognitive process within the framework of the canon of the 7 *liberal arts*, and show that he had a clear vision of the *Unity of Culture*, both ancient and modern, that is to say the synthesis of two civilisations.

---

**CHAPTER 2: BOETHIUS AND AMALARIUS METENSIS**

---

## CHAPTER 2

### BOETHIUS

#### and Amalarius Symphosius Metensis (\*ca. 775-780 - †ca. 850)

Amalarius Symphosius Metensis (Amalarius of Metz)<sup>47</sup>, was among the last students of Alcuin of York at Saint-Martin of Tours. After the death

---

<sup>47</sup> Amalarius Symphosius Metensis, was born around 775-780 and died after 850. He was among the very last students of Alcuin at Saint-Martin of Tours, where he became successively sub-deacon, deacon, after which he was ordained priest between the years 800 and 803. A prolific expert in Liturgy, he is the author of approximately 17 treatises, six of which were lost very early. Here is the list of his treatises according to the chronology of A. Cabaniss: *De scrutinio et baptismo* (812) • *Eclogae de ordine romano* (2 ed.: 814 et 837 [?]) • *Versus Marini* (814) • *Missae expositionis codex prior* (814) • *Missae expositionis codex altera* (814) • *Canonis missae interpretatio* (814) • *De institutione canonicorum* (817) • *De institutione sancrimonialium* (817) • *Liber officialis* (4 éd. [?]: 821-823, 827, 833, 835 [?]) • *Prologus ad antiphonarium* (837) • *Antiphonarium* (837: lost) • *Prologus ad lectionarium* (837: lost) • *De ordine cantatorii* (837: lost) • *Embolis* (837: lost) • *De diurnalis officio* (837: lost) • *De ordine antiphonarii* (837) • *De praescientia et praedestinatione* (849: lost). Amalarius also left behind a *corpus* of 8 letters, two of which were addressed respectively to the Peter, Abbot of Saint-Sylvester of Nonantola in the year 814, and to the Hilduin, Abbot of Saint-Denis, in the year 820. He was Archbishop of Trier from 809 to 813, he was *Missus* (Ambassador) to Constantinople, in the company of Peter of Nonantola, sent by Charlemagne in 813-814, became Archbishop of Lyons from 835 to 838; E. Dümmler, K. Hampe, u. a. (ed.), *Epistolae* (III), *Monumenta Germanicae Historica* inde ab a. C. 500 usque ad a. C. 1500, Berlin, 1898-1899 (reprint 1995), p. 242, 679; Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completes. Series latina*, Vol. 105, col. 994-1242; *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, Vaticano, I. M. Hanssens (ed.), 3 Vol., (*Studi e Testi*: 138, 139, 140), Città del Vaticano: B.A.V., 1948, 1948, 1950, reprint: 1967, Vol. I, p. 39-49, 297, 299; Vol. II, p. 567-580; Id., “Le texte du *Liber officialis*”, *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 47, 1933, p. 113-- et p. 243; G. Morin, “La question des deux Amalaires”, *Revue bénédictine*, VIII, 1891, p. 433-442; Idem, “Encore la question des deux Amalaires”, in *Revue bénédictine*, XI, 1894, p. 241-243; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, Vol. I, Munich, 1911, p. 398; H. Leclercq, “Antiphonaire”, in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris, 1924, Vol. 1 (Part 2), col. 2454-2456; A. Wilmart, “Un lecteur ennemi d'Amalaire”, *Revue bénédictine*, 31, 1924, p. 317; M. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe a.D. 500 to 900*, London, 1931, p. 357; A. Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, Amsterdam, 1954, p. XI-XII, p. 1-10, 52, 107-114; *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine*

of Alcuin in the year 804, one of the very first written testimonies attesting to the direct scientific–philosophical influence of Boethius is found surprisingly not in a scientific–philosophical treatise but in a literary treatise on liturgy written by Amalarius of Metz. Certain passages in the works of Amalarius allow one to have a precise idea about the scientific-philosophical training both of Amalarius and his generation of Carolingian masters, and consequently a precise idea about the scientific-philosophical training of the audience to which his works were destined. In this part of our study, we shall examine briefly three selected passages influenced directly by the two treatises of Boethii *De arithmetica* and Boethii *De musica*; the first passage deals with the philosophy of numbers, the second with music, geometry, dialectic, medicine, and the third with musical therapy and the cognitive process.

Indeed, it was Amalarius, who, for the first time since Cassiodorus so it seems, mentions and cites pertinent passages from the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*: I,7 and I,14 in his treatise *Canonis missae interpretatio*, written around the year 814, and from the Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*: I,1, in the first edition of his treatise *Liber Officialis*, written around the year 823.

(a) Amalarii *Canonis missae interpretatio*<sup>48</sup>:

“[17]: In tertio loco simpla primo proferunt et postea dupla, id est uirtutes caelorum et postea seraphim. Quoniam in sancta trinitate neque Pater ante Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, neque Filius ante Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum, neque Spiritus Sanctus ante Patrem et Filium. [18]: Simplum namque non habet medietatem, quia unitas non potest diuidi; duplum namque medietatem habet, id est unum<sup>49</sup>. Ita enim continetur in arithmetica disciplina: ‘Sola enim unitas circum se duos terminos non habet, atque ideo eius qui est prope se solius est medietas’<sup>50</sup>

---

portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste, Charles Samaran, Robert Marichal (eds.), Paris, 1981, Vol. IV, p. 71, (Vol. IV: Plates n° I); [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/amalarius\\_v\\_m.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/amalarius_v_m.shtml); <http://bc.leidenuniv.nl/whs/catalogi/catcomp1/#A> Amalarius manuscripts, Leiden, VLQ 28., Leiden, VGQ 30, Leiden, BPL 76, 100.

<sup>48</sup> Amalarii *episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, I. M. Hanssens (ed.), Vol. I, Vatican, 1948, p. 297, 299: ¶17-20.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 296-297; J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus series latina*, Vol. 105, col. 1120.

<sup>50</sup> Boethii *De arithmetica* I, 7; Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 6v<sup>o</sup>: 12-14; J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae series latina*, Vol. 63: 1085-C; G. Friedlein (ed.), p. 16: 20-22; Boèce. *Institution Arithmetica*, Jean-Yves Guillaumin (ed.), Paris, 1995, p. 16: 1-2; Illo Humphrey (ed.), *Boethius De institutione arithmetica libri duo. Édition proto-philologique intégrale princeps d'un manuscrit du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*

Quam pulcre concordat haec iocunda ars auctoritati omnis creaturae! [19]: “In catalogo enim trium personarum Filius persona secundo in loco ponitur, de quo scribitur: *Unus mediator Dei et nominum Christus Iesus*. In sancta trinitate solus Filius nuncupatur mediator, quoniam habet iste binarius numerus suam medietatem in unica persona Patris. Ipsa uero persona unica Patris non habet medietatem, quoniam non habet super se a quo ueniat. A quo uero numero nominato ternarius numerus efficitur, id est unum et duo tres, qui numerus primus et incompositus est. [20]: Ita uero scriptum est in supra dicta arte: ‘*In tribus enim una pars sola est, it est tertia, quae a tribus scilicet denominata est, et ipsa tertia pars unitas*’...”<sup>51</sup>.

- (b) Amalarii *Liber officialis*, I, III, caput 11: *De officio lectoris et cantoris*<sup>52</sup>:

“Iterum• Mihi uidetur esse inter lectionem et responsorium quod est inter elementa et artes ipsas; Ars quoque musica habet elementa sua• et geometrica ab elementis incipit linearum• et dialectica atque medicina habent YCAΓΟΓΑ [i.e. ἡ εἰσαγωγή, –ῆς] sua;”•

- (c) Amalarii *Liber officialis*, I, III, caput 11: *De officio lectoris et cantoris*<sup>53</sup>:

“Musica habet quandam naturalem uim ad flectendum animum• sicut Boetius in suo libro scribit, quem de musica fecit• ‘*Vulgatum quippe est quam saepe iracundias cantilena represserit• quam multa uel in corporum• uel in animorum affectionibus miranda perfecerit*’;...”<sup>54</sup>•

(a) The first passage, datable to the year 814, is an exegesis on the indivisibility of the threefold unit of the Holy Trinity. The passage is divided into two parts, and shows that Amalarius had well-assimilated the teachings of Boethius on the essence and preeminence of the *Unity*

---

(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 14064), *texte, gloses, notes tironiennes, signes de renvoi*, Institute of Medieval Music (IMM), Musicological Studies Volume LXXXVII, IBSN: 978-1-896926-90-2, Ottawa, Canada, September, 2007, p. 38.

<sup>51</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* I, 14; Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 13v<sup>o</sup>: 12-14; J.-P. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 63: 1092-C; G. Friedlein, p. 30: 21-23; J.-Y. Guillaumin, p. 31: 7-9; Illo Humphrey, Ottawa, 2007, p. 52.

<sup>52</sup> Cf Paris, BnF, nouvelle acquisition latine 329 (*olim* Cluny 84, v. 820-838), f. 116: 10-15; *P. L.*, Vol. 105, col. 1119 • Amalarii *episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, I. M. Hanssens (ed.), Vol. II, p. 294: § 8.

<sup>53</sup> Cf Paris, BnF, nouvelle acquisition latine 329 (*olim* Cluny 84, v. 820-838), f. 117: 7-12; *P. L.*, Vol. 105, col. 1120; I. M. Hanssens, Vol. II, p. 296-297: ¶15; Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, I, 1; G. Friedlein, p. 184: 7-9, et p. 183: 11 à p. 184: 7; C. Bower, p. 5, 6; C. Meyer, p. 26-27.

<sup>54</sup> Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque* I, 1; Friedlein, p. 184: 7-9, p. 183: 11 to p. 184: 7; Bower, p. 5, 6.; Meyer, p. 24-25, 26-27.

(“Oneness”), and on the essence of the *Duality* (“Twoness”): “Indeed• the Unity is the sole number which is not closed in on both sides by two numerical limitations• and by the same token it is the only number which is the proportional half of the number that follows [that is to say the number 2]•”<sup>55</sup>; then, Amalarius cites Boethius again, explaining the mixed essence of the *Trinity* (“Threeness”), the first prime number, which is the sum of One and Two: “In effect, in this unit of three numbers, there is only one constituent part, that is to say one third, which derives its name from one in three, that is to say one third of the Unity•”<sup>56</sup>.

(b) The second passage, datable to the years 821-823, suggests that outside the specialized historical and liturgical training of Amalarius, he had studied and understood the conceptual unity and diversity of the different branches of scientific philosophy, that is the sevenfold *canon* of the *Liberal Arts* (*ars arithmetica*, *ars musica*, *ars geometrica*, *ars astronomica*, *ars grammatical*, *ars dialectica*, *ars rhetorica*). This second passage also shows that he understood the rudiments of *ars dialectica* in his liturgical explanation on the difference between the *lessons* (chanted readings) and sung *responses* of the monastic Office and the different ‘*elementa*’ (τό στοιχεῖον, ου • τά στοιχεῖα, ων), which are the proper constituent parts of each *ars* or *disciplina*, whether it be the *divina officia*, *ars musica*, *ars geometrica*, *ars dialectica* or *ars medica*. These ‘*elementa*’ are conceptual limits (ὁ ὅρος, ου • οἱ ὅροι, ων), which define each thing according to its species, genre, kind, category; in short, its typology. The brief dialectical demonstration by Amalarius seems to indicate as well that he had studied and well understood the research and teachings of Boethius on the subject of the *10 categories* (ἡ κατηγορία, ας • αἱ κατηγορίαι, ων • *categoriae* or *prædicamenta*), which are clearly explained in two different chapters of the *De institutione arithmetica* of Boethius<sup>57</sup>. A ninth-century gloss

<sup>55</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* I,7: De principalitate unitatis; BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 6v : 12-14; G. Friedlein, p. 16; I. Humphrey, p. 38; here, Boethius explains the binary relationship of “2” to the Unity “1”.

<sup>56</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* I,14: De primo et incomposito; BnF, Lat. 14064, f. 13v : 7-9; G. Friedlein, p. 30; I. Humphrey, p. 52; here, Boethius explains the ternary relationship of “3” to the Unity “1”.

<sup>57</sup> The 10 Categories are as follows: τί ἐστὶ (substance-essence) • ποσόν (the how much) • ποῖόν (the what nature) • πρὸς τι (the relative) • ποῦ (the some where) • ποτέ (the when) • κείσθαι (the attitude) • ἔχειν (the possession) • ποιεῖν (the action) • πάσχειν (the passion); cf.



found in one of the oldest complete copies of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* gives us the following definition of the 10 categories : “Praedicamenta X • sunt quae claudunt omnia quae di-ci poss-unt de singu-lis rebus• substantia qualitas et quantitas...” (The 10 categories are those that enclose[, so to speak, into their proper setting] all things, which can be expressed concerning every single thing, one by one, its qualitative and its quantitative substance...) <sup>58</sup>. It is worthy to note, in passing, that the Boethian text of the *De arithmetica*, just as in the gloss which accompanies it, attributes the origine of the 10 categories not to Aristotle but to the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarent <sup>59</sup>.

---

Ἀριστοτέλους αἱ Κατηγορίαι [Aristotélous ai Katigoríai] IV, 1 b 25 • τὰ Τοπικά, [τὰ Topiká] I, 9, 103 b : 20; Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* I, 1: [Proëmium in quo diuisio mathematicae]; II,41: Quae apud antiques proportionalitates fuerint• quas posteriores addiderint•; Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 2v: 4-6, f. 64 : 12-14, 17-19; G. Friedlein, p. 8, p. 138; Jean-Yves Guillaumin, p. 6, p. 141; Illo Humphrey, p. 27, p. 152.

<sup>58</sup> Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064 (9<sup>th</sup> c., Corbie ?), f. 64, Boethian text, *De institutione arithmetica* II,41: “et architas phitagoricus ante aristotilem• licet quibusdam sit ambiguum• decem haec praedicamenta constituit...✱”; Gloss in the lower margin preceded by the cross-reference sign → ✱: “✱ Praedicamenta X • sunt quae claudunt omnia quae di-ci poss-unt de singu-lis rebus • Substanti-a quali-tas quanti-tas • ad aliquid idest illud • idest quando • habere [2] situm es-se agere • pati • et haec • X • praedicamenta inuen-it archites tarentinus qui tarenti habita-uit • et haec • X • praedicamenta [3] ta-li contin-entur propri-o • homo const-ans anim-a et corpo-re • prudens • magnus • filius mag-ni patr-is • in dom-us uersatur • ad quam hodie uenit • honeste indutus et bene [4] armatus • ibi st-at • pungatque uiriliter contra prop-rium quem patitur •”; I. Humphrey, *Boethius De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, p. 152.

**Nota bene:** This gloss was partially written in Latin stenography (that is to say in ‘tironian notes’); here, the words annotated in Latin stenography are transcribed systematically in italics.

<sup>59</sup> “Et architas phitagoricus ante aristotilem• licet quibusdam sit ambiguum• decem haec praedicamenta constituit...✱”. The fact that Boethius attributes the elaboration of the 10 Categories to Archýtas o Tarantínos (428 – 347 BC) is by all means significant. Indeed, this reveals that Boethius, in order to accomplish his personalized translation of the *Arithmitikì eisagogí* by Nikómachos, must have had at his disposal other sources outside of those of Nikómachos; for Archýtas is never mentioned in the *Arithmitikì eisagogí* of Nikómachos; R. Hoche (ed.), p. 122-123. Moreover, in connection with the 10 Categories, Archýtas is never mentioned either by Ἀσκληπιός ὁ Τραλλιανός [Asklepiós o Trallianós • i.e. Asclepius of Tralles: VI<sup>c</sup> s. a.D.] in his commentary on the *Arithmitikì eisagogí* of Nikómachos. However, Simplició, who died, seemingly, after the year 532, indicates in his *Exegesis on the Categories* that the

This important gloss allows us to better understand the succinct but pertinent explanation of Amalarius, and his use of the Latin term ‘*elementa*’.

The mention of *ars medica* (Greek: ἡ ἰατρικὴ τέχνη) sheds light on still another aspect of the education of Amalarius<sup>60</sup>. Indeed, the association of medicine and law with the basic disciplines of the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, attested by the well-known “Middle-Platonist” physician Galinós<sup>61</sup>, were a part of the λογικὰ τέχνηαι, synonym of

---

Pythagorean Iamblichos, in his now lost commentary on the 10 Categories, attributes explicitly their elaboration to the Pythagorean, Archytas o Tarantinos, close friend of Plato and pupil of Philolaos. This corroborates the declaration of Boethius in his *De institutione arithmetica* II,41, and suggests that Boethius may have had at his first-hand disposal the now lost treatise on the 10 Categories of Iamblichos; I. Hadot, *Simplicius. Commentaire sur les Catégories*, (Translation and commentary under the direction of Ilsetraut Hadot), fascicule 1, Leiden, 1990, p. 5, 6, 7; T. A. Szlezák, *Pseudo-Archytas über die Kategorien*, Berlin • New York, 1972; Leonardo Tarán, *Asclepius of Tralles, Commentary to Nicomachus’ Introduction to Arithmetic*, Philadelphia, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (4) 59, 1969; J.-Y. Guillaumin, *Boèce. Institution arithmétique*, p. 142, p. 220 : n. 120, 121.

<sup>60</sup> The mention of *ars medica* suggests that Amalarius may have had at his disposal some of the medical manuscripts already in circulation in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, of which today remain only fragments preserved in composite manuscripts; Ernest Wickersheimer, *Manuscrits de médecine du haut moyen âge dans les bibliothèques de France*, Paris (CNRS), 1966, p. 51: n° XXXVII, 2 (Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 528, f. 180v), p. 65: LVI, 1 (Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 5543, f. 1v-2v), p. 76: n° LXIV, 4 (Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7021, f. 118v-119r), p. 112: n° LXXVI, 35 (Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 11218, f. 119). These references correspond to the torments of sciatica pain and various other ailments, to which Boethius refers in the very first chapter of Book I of his *De musica*; Boethii *De institutione musica*, I, 1: “*quos ischiadici doloris tormenta uexabant* •”; G. Friedlien, p. 185: 20-22; C. Bower, *Fundamentals of Music*, New Haven, London, 1989, p. 6; C. Meyer, *Boèce. Traité de la Musique*, Turnout (Brepols), 2004, p. 28, 29.

<sup>61</sup> Γαληνός Claudius Galenus, Pergamum, 131 – Rome, 201], *Proptrepticus*, V, 7; *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, ed. J. Marquardt, Leipzig, 1884, Vol. I, p. 105: 15; A. Barigazzi, *De optimo docendi genere. Exhortatio ad medicinam (Proptrepticus)*, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, V,1,1, Berlin, 199; English translation, P. N. Singer, *Galen. Selected Works*, Oxford, 1997; *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, ed. C.G. Kuhn, Leipzig, 22 volumes, 1821-1833, reprint, Hildesheim (Olms Verlag), 1964-1965; Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux et la philosophie...*, Chapter VI: “L’ ‘enkuklios paedeia’: la notion et son contenu”, p.

ἐλεύθεροι τέχνη<sup>62</sup>. This second passage concerning the different ‘*elementa*’ of the fundamental *canon* of the *Liberal Arts*, reveals a less visible aspect of the scientific-philosophical background and training of Amalarius of Metz:

“Here again, there exists, so it seems, between the [chanted reading of the] *lesson* and the [ornately sung] *responsorium* [of the monastic Office], the same [types] of [component] elements [that one observes] between [the different disciplines of the said seven *liberal arts*; *ars musica*, [for example,] has its [component] elements, and [then], *ars geometrica* begins by the [component] elements of [straight] lines [and curved lines], and [by the same token] *ars dialectica*, as well as *ars medica*, [both of which] have their own introductory treatises [destined for pedagogical initiation, which expose clearly their component elements]”.

(c) The third and last passage concerns the following citation taken from *De institutione musica*, which Amalarius inserts into his *Liber officiis* I, III, Chapter 11, ¶ 15: *De officio lectoris et cantoris*, written between the years 821 and 823:

“Music has the power to sweeten the spirits, as wrote Boethius rightly so in his book which he wrote on *ars musica*:

*‘It is common knowledge that a simple musical melody can often calm anger spells, and can work miracles in a variety of manners, both in the ailments of the body as well those of the mind’.*

This brief passage in the *Liber officiis* of Amalarius constitutes the first known citation of the *De institutione musica* of Boethius, and suggests that Book I of the treatise, a thorough study on the cognitive process, had already been well-meditated upon and well-assimilated in the first years of the 9th century; furthermore, as of the year 821, the Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, as indicated above, was inscribed in the catalogue of Reginbertus († 846), the *Custos Armarii* (librarian) at *Augia Insula*, (Reichenau Island in Lake Constance, D-78479 Insel Reichenau im Bodensee, Baden-Württemberg, Germany), see above, note 37.

---

269; *Claudii Galeni. Opera Omnia*, C.G. Kuhn (ed.), 44 volumes, Bordeaux (Ausonius Editions, Laboratory UMR-5607 of the CNRS), 2003; [http://web2.bium.univ-paris5.fr/livanc/?intro=galien\\_vf](http://web2.bium.univ-paris5.fr/livanc/?intro=galien_vf) = Galien *Opera omnia* on-line.

<sup>62</sup> The terms λογικὰ τέχνη, ἐλευθέριοι τέχνη are synonyms of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία; see above note 19.

### Observations on Amalarius of Metz

These three passages, taken from the *Canonis missae interpretatio* and from the *Liber officialis* I, III, caput 11: “De officio lectoris et cantoris”, reveal implicitly several aspects of the general culture of Amalarius of Metz, and as a direct result source of the new Carolingian branch of the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*. First of all, in rationalizing the liturgical practices, that is to say in writing a formal treatise on the *Officium*, or the *divina Officia*<sup>63</sup>, he deemed it necessary, in his exegesis on the *Holy Trinity*, and in his explanation on the alternating of the *lectiones* and the *responsoria*, to call upon the scientific-philosophical tools of *ars arithmetica* and *ars dialectica*. These two tools allowed him to discuss with clarity certain aspects of the fundamental concept of the *substantia numeri* (the substance or essence of number): *principalitas unitatis* (the pre-eminence of the *Unity*), *medietas* (half, mean, proportion, percentage, etc.), *numeri primi et incompositi* (prime and uncomposed numbers), as well as the concept of the *elementa* (limits, component parts), according to the different *praedicamenta* or *categoriae* (universal categories), of which he seems to have acquired solidly the rudements during his studies under Alcuin of

---

<sup>63</sup> It is useful here to discuss briefly the term *liturgy* (Greek: ἡ λειτουργία, -ας • Latin: *liturgia*), which meant originally a public service or a public function that one exercises at one's own cost, a military service, a religious service or ceremony in the Hellenic culture, or in the Greek Orthodox Church; only the religious connotation was retained by the Western European culture. The term became widespread in its modern sense as of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the Protestant Theologian Jean Poulain (Pullanus) published in 1551 his treatise *Liturgia sacra, seu ritus ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum profugorum propter evangelium Christi*, A.C Henders (ed.), Leiden, 1970, introducing thus the term into the Western European religious world. The term was first used exclusively in Protestant circles, then little by little it was adopted by the Roman Catholic Church, and officialized by the Pope Benedict XIV (Prospero Lambertini, 1740-1758) in his encyclical letter *Quem ardenti studio*, which was promulgated on March 25 1752; Pierre-Marie Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire*, Paris, 1990, p. 182-183: note 23. Before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of *liturgy*, was expressed by the terms: *officium* (divine office or service), ou bien *diuina officia* (divine offices or services), or *ecclesiasticum officium*; cf. Pierre-Marie Gy, *Ibid.*, p. 180: §2. The treatises on liturgy of Amalarius of Metz correspond to liturgical standardizations based on the Carolingian reforms of the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Henri Leclercq, “Antiphonaire”, in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (DACL)*, Paris, 1924, Vol. 1 (Part 2), col. 2455.

York at Saint-Martin de Tours. As for his exposé on the beneficial and non-beneficial effects of musique on mind and body, he once again called upon the Pythagorean and Platonic *Tradition of Knowledge* in order to explain to his future readers the concept of the *ethos of musical modes* [τὸ τῶν τρόπων ἦθος]<sup>64</sup>, that is to say to what extent certain musical modes, melodies, tones, and scales, can influence in a positive or negative manner the state of health of the mind and of the body. This important concept is at the very heart of the cognitive process, and is indeed the fore-runner of the modern clinical research on Cognitive Comportmental Therapy<sup>65</sup>.

In conclusion, these three passages are unique in that they come from the works of a liturgist, who is neither scientist nor philosopher, but whose education and general culture included both scientific and philosophical training. Indeed, the said passages are important because they allow us to measure with more certainty the influence of Boethius on the new Carolingian scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, and to reconstitute the ‘*erudito institutio in banas artes*’ (*supra*, p. 44-45: note 8) of Amalarius of Metz, of his contemporary masters, of his immediate professional audience, of his general readers, in short, of his entire intellectual milieu.




---

<sup>64</sup> Fabien Delouvé, “De l’influence de Boèce dans les traits de musique du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance: sur la transmission et la diffusion de la théorie dite ‘de l’ethos’ des modes”. in *Colloquia Aquitana I – 2005. Études médiévales: patrimoine matériel et immatériel*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris, 2006, Chapter 2, p. 47-78.

<sup>65</sup> Aaron T. Beck, *Cognitive therapy and the emotional disorders*, International Universities Press, New York, 1976; Judith Beck, *Cognitive Therapy: Basics and Beyond*, New York, 1995; edition on line: [http://www.amazon.com/gp/reader/0898628474/ref=sib\\_dp\\_pt/002-7089376-4219268#reader-link](http://www.amazon.com/gp/reader/0898628474/ref=sib_dp_pt/002-7089376-4219268#reader-link); Ivy Marie Blackburn et Jean Cottraux, *Thérapie cognitive de la dépression*, Paris (Masson), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition revised, 2001; Jean Cottraux, *Les thérapies comportementales et cognitives*, Paris (Masson), 2001.

---

**CHAPTER 3: BOETHIUS AND CHARLES II “THE BALD”**

---

## CHAPTER 3

## BOETHIUS and Charles II “the Bald” (\*823-†877)

Charles II, called “the Bald” (French: Charles le Chauve, German: Karl der Kahle)<sup>66</sup>, was born in Frankfurt am Main on June 13, 823 and died the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> of October 877 in the Savoy region of France. Grandson of Charlemagne, he was the fourth son of the second Carolingian Emperor Louis the Pious (†June 20, 840)<sup>67</sup> and his second wife Judith of Bavaria

---

<sup>66</sup> Karolus Calvus (Charles II “The Bald”), was born on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June, 823 in Frankfurt-on-the-Main (Germany, Hesse, Darmstadt, D-60001); he was King of Neustria in 837, King of Aquitania in 838, King of West Francia in 840, consecrated at Orléans in 848, King of Lorraine in 869, crowned Emperor the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 875, and died near St.-Jean-de-Maurienne F-73300, Department of Savoy, on the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> of October 877; U. Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, Paris, 1907, Vol. I, col. 868-869; Professor Dame Janet L. Nelson, DBE, “The Reign of Charles the Bald: a Survey”, in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson et Janet L. Nelson, (BAR International Series 101), London, 1981, (2<sup>nd</sup> edition reviewed and corrected), Variorum, Aldershot, G.B., 1990, p. 1-22; Pierre Riché, *Les Carolingiens, une famille qui fit l'Europe*, Paris, 1994, p. 162-204; P. Riché, *Dictionnaire des Francs. Les Carolingiens*, Paris, 1997, pp. 70-71.

<sup>67</sup> Louis the Pious (Louis the Debonnaire): born in Casseneuil (?) (Agenais, Lot-et-Garonne F-47440) ca. 776-778, king of Aquitania as of his birth, consecrated in Rome at the age of 5 around 781-783, associated to the throne while his father Charlemagne was still alive, crowned king at the general assembly of Aachen in August 813, crowned emperor in 814, died the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, 840 “iuxta Magoniacum” (near Mainz, Ingleheim, Frankfurt am Main), was buried, just as his mother Hiltigarda [Hildegard] before him (“*quo et mater eius condita erat*”), at Saint-Arnoul of Metz by Drogon, his half-brother and his *archicapellanus*, Bishop of Metz from 826 to 855; cf. *Vita Hludobuici Imperatoris*, G. H. Pertz (ed.), in *MGH, Scriptores*, Vol. II in-folio, Hannover, 1839, p. 648. **Nota bene:** Pippinus, the second of the 4 sons of Louis the Pious, born in 803, king of Aquitania in 817, died in 838; Ernst Tremp, “Thegan und Astronomus, die beiden Geschichtschreiber Ludwigs des Frommen”, in *Charlemagne's heir. New perspectives on the reign of Louis the Pious, 814-840*, R. Collins et Peter Godman (eds.), Oxford, 1990, pp. 691-700; C. Settipani, *La Préhistoire des Capétiens, Mérovingiens, Carolingiens, Robertiens*, Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1993, pp. 241-257; Pierre Riché, *Les Carolingiens une famille qui fit l'Europe*, Paris (Hachette-Pluriel), 1994, p. 149-160; P. Riché, *Dictionnaire des Francs. Les Carolingiens*, Paris (Editions Bartillat), 1997, pp. 154-155; cf. Léon et Albert Mirot, *Géographie historique de la France*, Paris (Picard), 1947, p. 92 (Carte n° VIII); Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de*

(†April 19, 843). At the death of his brother Pippinus I in 838, at the age of 15, he was crowned king of Aquitania in September 838; the crowning ceremony took place not in Aquitania but north of Paris in the city of Quierzy (F-02300: Department of Aisne, Administrative Seat: 02000 Laon); Charles II was Emperor during the last two years of his life from 875 to 877. As a young prince, Charles II received an excellent *humanitas, eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*<sup>68</sup> in the disciplines of science, philosophy, theology, proto-philology, etc. Indeed, between the ages 6 and 15 in *Urbs aquensis* (Aachen), Charles had as *praeceptor* the young Platonist, Walafried “Strabo” (808-†849)<sup>69</sup>, benedictine monk at

---

*Louis le Pieux* (781-840), Sigmaringen, 1997 (Instrumenta 1); cf. A. Breukelaar, BBKL: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/l/ludwig\\_i\\_d\\_f.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/l/ludwig_i_d_f.shtml).

<sup>68</sup> ‘*Learning and fundamental instruction in the good [liberal] arts*’; Aulus Gellius (\*125-†ca.185) *Noctes atticae* XIII,17, see, *supra*, note 7.

<sup>69</sup> Walafried [Walafrid] “Strabo” was born in Germany in the Region of Swabia, whose Administrative Seat today is the city of Augsburg (D – 86150 – 86199, Land: Bavaria). He studied first in *Augia insula* (Reichenau Island, in the Lake Constance, Baden-Württemberg, Germany), then in Fulda (D – 36001 – 36043, Land: Hesse, Administrative Seat: Kassel), where he was a pupil of the *praeceptor Germainae*, that is to say Hrabanus called “Maurus”. Walafried Strabo was Abbot of Reichenau between 839 and 840, then again between 842 and 848. For many years it was thought that he was the author of the well-known biblical exegesis entitled *Glossa ordinaria* (J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Vol. 113 and 114), however, more updated research has revealed this work to be from the 12<sup>th</sup> century; F. Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen âge*, Vol. II, Turnhout (Brepols), 1991, p. 103; J. Fried, “Karl der Grosse, die Artes liberales und die karolingische Renaissance”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, Vol. I, p. 34-42; P. L. Butzer, H. Butzer Felleisen, “Scholars of the Mathematical Sciences in the Aachen Region”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, Vol. II, p. 50-51; see Wesley M. Stevens concerning the manuscripts of Walafried Strabo on the comput: Oxford, Bodl. can. misc. 353 et St.-Gall 878; W. M. Stevens, “Euclidian Geometry in the early middle ages”, in *Festschrift for B. A. Rosenfeld*, Ames, Iowa, 1996; W. M. Stevens, “Astronomy in Carolingian Schools”, in *Karl der Grosse...*, Vol. I, p. 418-419, 422; Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, Paris, 1984, on ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία: p. 101-136, 263-293; Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie...*, p. 393-394; Irmgard Fees, “War Walahfrid Strabo der Lehrer und Erzieher Karls des Kahlen?”, in *Studien der Geschichte des Mittelalters. Jürgen Petersohn zum 65. Geburtstag*, Matthias Thumser, Annegret Wenz-Haubfleisch, Peter Wiegand (eds.), Stuttgart, 2000, p. 42-61; Courtney M. Booker, “A new Prologue of Walafrid Strabo”, in *34<sup>th</sup> annual Medieval*



*Augia Insula* (Reichenau Island) and former student of Hrabanus dit “Maurus”<sup>70</sup> at Fulda.

The ancient concept of ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, or simply ἡ παιδεία (cycle of ‘*learning and fundamental instruction in the good [liberal] arts*’), was the basic model for the scientific-philosophical school *curriculum* which Alcuin had carefully put into place some 40 years earlier. Indeed, this *curriculum*, that is to say the sevenfold *artes liberales* (αἱ ἐλεύθεροι τέχναι): *quadrivium* (*arithmetica, musica, geometria, astronomia*) et *trivium*: (*grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica*), was the the secular program of the schooling which the young prince Charles II received from his *praeceptor* (his personal tutor), that is to say Walafried Strabo.

Already an adult at the age of 15 in 838, with all the successive political and military responsibilities which that implied, namely: the fratricidal battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye on Saturday the 25<sup>th</sup> of June, 841<sup>71</sup>, the pronouncing in “*teudisca lingua*” of the trilingual Oaths of

---

Workshop, University British Columbia, Vancouver, November 13 2004, p. 83-105, [http://www.history.ubc.ca/docdownload.php?pk\\_documentsid=35&doc\\_action=view](http://www.history.ubc.ca/docdownload.php?pk_documentsid=35&doc_action=view).

<sup>70</sup> Hrabanus “Maurus” (\*Mainz, 780 – †Winkel im Rheingau, 856), himself a fellow student of Amalarius at Saint-Martin of Tours, where he studied under Alcuin from 796 to 804, was Abbot of Fulda from 822 to 842, and Archbishop of Mainz from 847 to his death in 856; Hrabani Mauri *De uniuerso libri XXII* (XV,1: De philosophis • XVIII,3: De numero • XVIII,4: De musica et partibus eius): Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), [Dom Jean Mabillon, Dom Edmond Martène, Dom Jean-Luc d’Achéry (eds.)], *P. L.*, Vol. 111 (Nr. 5), col.: 413-419, 489-495, 495-500; E. Dümmler (ed.), *MGH, Epistolae*, Vol. V (*Epistolae karolini aevi*, Vol. III), Berlin, 1889, p. 403: 3, *Hrabani epistolae*: 14, “Mauri nomen exprimentem quod • meus magister beatae memoriae Albinus mihi indidit”; here, Hrabanus indicates that his nickname “Maurus” was given to him by Alcuin of York; see, F. W. Bautz: Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/h/hrabanus\\_maurus.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/h/hrabanus_maurus.shtml), Werke, Literatur, Werkeergänzung, Literaturergänzung.

<sup>71</sup> *Fontanetum*: Today Fontenoy-en-Puisaye, near Auxerre (F-89000, Department of Yonne), Administrative Seat: Auxerre, Canton: St.-Sauveur-en-Puisaye (89520), situated in proximity to the old Roman highway and on the affluent of the river Ouanne, approximately 25 kilometers south-west of Auxerre. Mentioned as of 578, the village and the monastery were a part of the diocese of Auxerre; today, Fontenoy-en-Puisaye is a part of the diocese of Sens-Auxerre, the two cities share the same Archbishop; Dom L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés*, Macon, 1938, col. 1184-1185. It is useful to know that the Latin toponym *Fontanetum* is at the

Strasburg (“*lingua romana*”, “*lingua teudisca*”, “*lingua latina*”) on Tuesday, the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 842<sup>72</sup>, the signing of the first Treaty “of Verdun” on Friday the 10<sup>th</sup> of August 843<sup>73</sup>, the young adult prince

---

origine of numerous names of towns and communities in France: Fontanet, Fontenet, Fontenay, Fontenoy, etc.; Auguste Longnon, *Les noms de lieu de la France, leur origine, leur signification, leurs transformations*, (fascicules 1, 2, 3), published by P. Marichal et L. Mirot, Paris, Champion, [1920-1929] / 1968, p. 165 n° 673; Albert Dauzat and Charles Rostang, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition reviewed et completed by Ch. Rostang, Paris, Guénégaud, 1978, p. 296; Abbé Jean Lebeuf, *Mémoires concernant Auxerre et son ancien diocèse, continués jusqu'à nos jours avec addition de nouvelles preuves et annotations*, ed. Ambroise Challe et Maximilien Quantin, Vol. I to Vol. IV, 1848, 1855 (reprint 1978), p. 126-128; Karl Ferdinand Werner, *Histoire de France*, ch. 1: “Les Origines”, Paris, 1984, p. 405; Janet L. Nelson, “The Reign of Charles the Bald: A Survey”, p. 3. **Note bene:** Concerning the battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye, K. F. Werner proposes the date of Saturday, the 25<sup>th</sup> of June, 841, whereas Janet Nelson proposes the date of Friday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of June [Feast Day of Saint John-the-Baptist], 841.

<sup>72</sup> Latin: *Sacramenta Argentariae*, *Sacramenta Strasburgi*, *Sacramenta Strazburgi*, modern French: *Serments de Strasbourg*; German: *Strassburger Eide*) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 9768 (10<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 13r (2<sup>nd</sup> column); Philippe Lauer, *Nithard. Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, (Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age: Fascicule n° 7, publiés sous la direction de Louis Halphen), critical text with French translation vis-à-vis, and facsimile of the *Oaths of Strasbourg*, Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1926 et 1964, pp. 104-109; Illo Humphrey, “Quelques observations sur les Serments de Strasbourg et sur le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 9768”, in *Bulletin de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne*, n° 16, juin 1999, p. 83-92; “Ergo XVI kalendas marci• Lodhuuucius et Karolus in ciuitate quae olim Argentaria [ou Argentoratus] vocabatur• nunc autem Strazburg uulgo dicitur• conuenerunt• et sacramenta quae subter notata sunt• Lodhuuicus romana• Karolus uero teudisca lingua iurauerunt...; Pro deo amur• et pro xpi[sti]an poblo et nostro commun saluament...”; Ingodes minna indinthes xpi[sti]anes folches indunser bedhero gealtnissi...”: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 9768, f. 12 v°, column 2, lines 22-28, f. 13r, column 2, lines 5, 6, 16, 17; *Nithardi Historiarum Libri III*, G. H. Pertz (ed.), in *MGH, Scriptorum*, Vol. II, p. 665, lines 25-30; *Nithardi De dissensionibus filiorum Ludowici Pii Libri III*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Vol. 116, col. 67; P. Lauer, *Nithard...*, p. 101, 102. **Nota bene:** The manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14663, ca. 1403-1422 [?], is an incomplete copy of the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 9768.

<sup>73</sup> Duniaco [Dugniacum]: Today, Dugny-sur-Meuse (F-55100 Meuse), Arrondissement and Canton: Verdun (F-55100), Administrative Seat: Bar-le-Duc (F-55000), is situated approximately 7 kilometers south of Verdun;

Charles II, who in the year 844 at the age of 21 had already become an ardent patron of the arts, sciences, letters, philosophy, and protector of the masters of these disciplines in his court and in his entourage, was the recipient of numerous gifts, among which two well-known illuminated manuscripts, containing written dedications to him, namely: an unglossed copy of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*<sup>74</sup>, and a large and luxurious copie of the Bible (Old and New Testaments)<sup>75</sup>. Reputed

---

concerning Duniaco or Dugniacum, cf. K. F. Werner, *Histoire de France*, p. 407; Janet L. Nelson, "The Reign of Charles the Bald. A Survey", p. 4.

**Nota bene:** As for the date of the first Treaty "of Verdun", K. F. Werner proposes August 843, without giving a precise date in the month, whereas Janet Nelson situates the signing of the Treaty in the month of July 843, without giving either a precise date in the month. With the signing of the first Treaty "of Verdun", the dismemberment of the Carolingian Empire began: Charles II the Bald obtained the western portion of Gaule, Louis II the Germanic of Bavaria obtained the eastern portion of Germany, and Lothar obtained Italie, Provence, Burgundy, Lotharingia (Lorraine). The original text of the first Treaty of Verdun is, so it seems, definitively lost, notwithstanding, le *Capitulaire CCLI*, "Diuisio regni Lotharii II", indicates in part the limits of the territory of the elder brother Lothar; Emile Amann, *l'Epoque carolingienne*, in *Histoire de l'église*, Vol. 6, Paris, 1941, pp. 270-271; A. Boretius and V. Krause, in *MGH, Capitularia regum francorum*, Vol. II, Hannover, 1897, p. 193.

<sup>74</sup> Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Class. 5 (*olim*: H. J. IV. 12), written and illuminated in the 9<sup>th</sup> century between 844 et 851; Wilhelm Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, Vol. I: *Die Schule von Tours*. 1: *Die Ornamentik*, Berlin, 1930 (1963), p. 230-231, 255-256, 396-400, 401-402 (n° 38 et 39), *Tafelband* (Plates), Vol. I (3), Plates 90- 92.

<sup>75</sup> Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 1 (9<sup>th</sup> c.): This well-known manuscript is called the "First Bible of Charles the Bald", or "The Bible of Vivianus", commissioned by Comte Vivianus who was Abbot at Saint-Martin of Tours between 844 to 851; see f. 215v<sup>o</sup>: the frontispice of the Psalter, a full-page illumination depicting Charles II as "David rex et prop[heta]", surrounded by two body-guards, four musicians, and in the four corners of the miniature, the *quattuor virtutes animae*, that is to say the *summa bona*: *Prudentia*, *Iustitia*, *Fortitudo*, *Temperantia*; see f. 422v: dedication addressed to Charles II the Bald, in gold letters on purple parchment; see f. 423r: a full-page illumination representing Charles II in full *regalia* seated on his throne in presence of two guards and 14 dignitaries, among whom the Abbot Vivianus, who is depicted handing to Charles II the large codex in-folio; Wilhelm Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, Vol. I: *Die Schule von Tours*. 2: *Die Bilder*, p. 13, 27, 102, *Tafelband*, I (3), pl. 72; Denise Bloch, "La Bibliothèque de Colbert", *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. l'Ancien Régime: 1530 à 1789*, Paris, 1988, p. 162-173; Florentine Mutherich, "Les manuscrits enluminés en Neustrie", in *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, ed. H.

as being *rex doctus* and *philosophus*, as well as a protector of the learned and of the philosophers<sup>76</sup>, this grandson of Charlemagne, following in the footsteps of his grandfather, positioned himself at an early age to promote, protect, and safeguard the scientific-philosophical tangible and intangible cultural heritage of his day, and its protagonists in his *Liberal Arts* entourage.

---

Atsma, Vol. I, Sigmaringen, 1989, t. II, p. 329, 331; Eric Palazzo, “L’enluminure à Metz du Haut Moyen Age”, in *Metz enluminé*, Metz, 1989, p. 29, Plate C; Isabelle Marchesin, *L’Image organum. La représentation de la musique dans les psautiers médiévaux 800 – 1200*, Brepols, 2000, pages: 14, 19, 21, 25-26, 54, 63, 83, 11-112, 123-124, 131, Illustrations: D, 12, 12\*; P. E. Dutton et H. L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald*, Ann Arbor, 1997; Illo Humphrey, “La philosophie de l’image dans la pratique iconographique carolingienne (quelques observations sur la pratique iconographique en Neustrie au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle): l’exemple du scriptorium de Saint-Martin de Tours entre 830 et 851”, in *MedRen Music Conference 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> of July, 2005*, 45 pages, 10 Plates.

**Nota bene:** This study was published on the Internet by the CESR of the University François-Rabelais of Tours, France 37000, Department Indre-et-Loire: <http://193.52.215.193/Ricercar/medren/Papers/Humphrey.pdf>; a modified version of this same study appears in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce* ([Boethius], *Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524*), *l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris, 2009, Volume I, Chapter 3, p. 279-313.

<sup>76</sup> Pierre Riché, “Charles le Chauve et la culture de son temps”, in *Jean Scot Erigène et l’Histoire de la philosophie*, International Colloquia of the French CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique): Nr. 561, Paris, 1977, p. 38; J. J. Contreni, “Inharmonious Harmony: Education in the Carolingian World”, in *The Annals of Scholarship: Metastudies of the Humanities and Social Sciences I*, 1980, (Variorum, Hampshire, G.B., 1992) p. 81-96; R. McKitterick, “Charles the Bald (823-877) and his Library: the Patronage of Learning”, in *English Historical Review* 57, 1980, p. 28-47; P. E. Dutton, “Eriugena, the royal Poet”, in *Jean Scot. Écrivain, Cahiers d’études médiévales*, Cahier spécial – 1: Acts of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium, Montréal, 28<sup>th</sup> of August to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 1983, G.-H. Alard (ed.), p. 69; P. Godman, *Poets and Emperors. Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*, London, Oxford, 1987, p. 174, 175; J. L. Nelson, “Charles le Chauve”, in *L’École carolingienne d’Auxerre. De Murethach à Rémi 830 - 908*, (Entretiens d’Auxerre 1989), D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy, G. Lobrichon (eds.), Paris, 1991, p. 39-43.

### Observations on Charles II “the Bald”

If, indeed, the idea of *rex doctus*<sup>77</sup> appears to some as being somewhat exaggerated, one can nevertheless deduce with certainty that the young Charles II “the Bald” had received a high quality of *eruditio institutioque in bonas artes [liberales]* (cf. *supra*, p. 45, n. 8), and that, in the nine years he studied under Walafried Strabon from 829 to 838, he became well-versed in the fundamental *canon* of the fourfold + threefold *Liberal Arts* (*quadrivium* and *trivium*), having acquired a good mastery of the basic Pythagorean-Platonic-Boethian concepts. Thus, it is in no wise unreasonable to affirm that Charles II was capable of reading with conceptual understanding, for example, the *De institutione arithmetica*, in which Boethius exposes with clarity such concepts as: *variabilis res*<sup>78</sup>, [res] *quae natura incorporea sunt*<sup>79</sup>, *substantia numeri*<sup>80</sup>, *principalitas unitatis*<sup>81</sup>, *primus et incompositus [numerus]*<sup>82</sup>, *animae generatio*<sup>83</sup>, *continua proportio superparticularis*<sup>84</sup>, *decem praedicamenta*<sup>85</sup>,

---

<sup>77</sup> Dame Janet Laughland Nelson, DBE, “Charles le Chauve”, in *L’École carolingienne d’Auxerre...*, p. 38, 39, 40, 41; John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, “A Carolingian Renaissance Prince: The Emperor Charles the Bald”, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 64, London, 1980, p. 155-184; Reto R. Bezzola, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident* (500-1200), Paris, 1958-1963, 5 Vol., see Vol. I, p. 196; L. Traube, *MGH, Poetae latini aevi Carolini* III (2), Berlin, 1896, *Versus* IX: “Aulae sidereæ...”, p. 552: 98.

<sup>78</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, I,1: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 2v<sup>o</sup>: 7-9.

<sup>79</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, I,1: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 2v<sup>o</sup>: 7-9.

<sup>80</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, I,2: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 4v<sup>o</sup>: 16 – f. 5r<sup>o</sup>:13.

<sup>81</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, I,7: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 6r<sup>o</sup>: 23 – 6v<sup>o</sup>:18.

<sup>82</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, I,14: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 13r<sup>o</sup>: 26 – 14r<sup>o</sup>:10.

<sup>83</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, II,2: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 36v<sup>o</sup>: 20 – 40r<sup>o</sup>:11.

<sup>84</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, II,2: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 36v<sup>o</sup>: 20 – 40r<sup>o</sup>:11.

<sup>85</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, I,1; II,41: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 2v<sup>o</sup>: 1-6; 64r<sup>o</sup>: 1-20.

*medietates*<sup>86</sup>, *maxima et perfecta symphonia*<sup>87</sup>, etc., and to discuss meaningfully scientific-philosophical matters with his master Walafried Strabon, and his contemporaries, then later with his royal “poet laureate”-philosopher Iohannes Scottus Eriugena<sup>88</sup>.




---

## CHAPTER 4: BOETHIUS AND IOHANNES SCOTTUS ERIUGENA

---

<sup>86</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, II,43; II,44; II,47; II,53: BnF, latin 14064, f.: 64v°, 67r°, 71r°, 81r°.

<sup>87</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, II,54: BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 81r°: 24 – f. 82v°: 16.

<sup>88</sup> It is useful here to know that Professor Peter Godman, in his most interesting book *Poets and Emperors...*, p. 170, expresses doubt concerning the idea of Charles II “The Bald” being a *rex doctus* (*learned, erudite King*) and a patron of the arts, sciences, letters, etc., stating that there is little evidence to support the said idea. This notwithstanding, one must bear in mind that the young Charles II “the Bald” possessed his own dedicated copy of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 5, olim: H. J. IV. 12, see above note 74), and that his *eruditio institutioque in bonas artes* [*liberales*] (*instruction and fundamental learning in the good [liberal] arts*: above n. 8), received at the hands of his *praeceptor* Walafried “Strabo”, would seemingly have allowed him to read with relative ease this major scientific-philosophical treatise by Boethius.

## CHAPTER 4

### BOETHIUS and Iohannes Scottus Eriugena (\*ca. 810 - †ca. 877)

Iohannes Scottus Eriugena (\*ca. 810-†after 877) was a Carolingian Christian philosopher of Neo-Platonic tendencies<sup>89</sup>, and was the “poet-

---

<sup>89</sup> Iohannes Scottus Eriugena, neo-platonician: Among the principal Neo-Platonists who lived and worked between the 3rd to the 6th century, one can consult with profit the following: Plotinos (†275), who, as Sokrátis, left behind only an oral legacy, having written nothing • Málchos “Porphýrios o Týrios” (†305), a disciple of Plotinos, transmitted to posterity the oral teachings of his master • Iámblichos (†350) • Théon o Alexandrínos (†390) • Hypatía (†415) • Synésios (†413) • Nemésios (5<sup>th</sup> c.) • Théodoros Asínis (†4<sup>th</sup> c.) • Plouútharchos o Athinaíos (†431) • Hieroklís (†450) • Syrianós (†450) • Hermías (5<sup>th</sup> c.) • Domnínos o Larisaíos (†450) • Próklos “o Díadochos” (†485) • Asklipodótis o Alexandrínos (†6<sup>th</sup> c., *in.*) • Ammónios fils d’Hermías (†517-526) • Damaskiós o Sýros (†ca. 538) • Simplikiós o Kilíkios (†after 532) • Prísikianos o Lýdios (†after 529) • Ioánnis o Alexandíinos dit “Philóponos”, i.e. “who loves laborious and strenuous work” (†ca. 570 [?]) • etc., cf. Léon Robin, *La pensée grecque et les origines de l’esprit scientifique*, Paris, 1923, p. 440-453; Ilsetraut Hadot, *Le problème du néoplatonisme alexandrin. Hiéroclès et Simplicius*, Paris 1978, p. 21-25; P. Hadot, *Plotin, Porphyre. Études néo-platoniciennes*, Paris, 1999. Le “Néo-Platonism”, *stricto sensu*, stems indirectly from the research and teachings of Plato, its essence appearing to be a Plotinian interprétation of the dialog Παρμενίδης (Parmenídís) by Plato. This interprétation is based on a series of well-known Platonic concepts among which: τὸ ἓν, τοῦ ἐνός (the absolute *Unity*, or God, supreme arithmetical-mathematical principle of creation, Latin: *unitas*), and τὸ ἀγαθόν (the absolute supreme Good, or God the summit of the divine Good, Latin: *summum bonum divinum*) and their antitheses (cf. Plotinos-Porphýrios, *Ennéades*, VI). Iohannes Scottus Eriugena, so it seems, modelled his research and teachings after those of the Latin Neo-Platonist Marius Victorinus (4<sup>th</sup> c., cf. *Ad candidum arrianum* VI, 5-7). The essential *leitmotiv* of his system of thought is based on the division the “*uniuersitas*” (absolute creative intelligence) charaterized by thesis and antithesis: τὸ ὄν, ὄντος (the absolute state of being, Latin: *vere esse* or *res vera*) and τὸ οὐδέν (the state of nothingness, Latin: *nihilum*), “*quae sunt*” [τὰ ὄντα] and “*quae non sunt*” [τὰ μὴ ὄντα], then, in the same line of thought, “*quae stant*” [ἀκίνητος, ος, ον: Plato, *Laws* 736d; ἀμετάβλητος, ος, ον: Aristotle, *Metaphysics* IV, 12: 4] and “*quae uariant*” [κίνητος, ή, όν or μεταβλητός, ή, όν], “*quae uere sunt*” [ὄντως τὰ ὄντα] and “*quae non uere sunt*” [ὄντως τὰ μὴ ὄντα], corresponding perfectly to the teachings of Boethius in his treatise *De institutione arithmetica* I,1 • I,2 • II,31 • II,32; cf. G. A. Piemonte, “L’expression ‘*quae sunt et quae non sunt*’: Jean Scot et Marius

laureate” to the future Carolingian Emperor Charles II “the Bald”<sup>90</sup>. He seems to have been profoundly influenced by the research and teachings of Boethius, and, indeed, judging from his very laudatory comments<sup>91</sup>, full of admiration and respect, one may conclude that John Scottus Eriugena was an assiduous student of the works of Boethius, and in particular of his major scientific-philosophical treatise *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*. Just as the works of Boethius, the *opera omnia* (complete works) of John Scottus Eriugena<sup>92</sup> are well-rooted in the long,

---

Victorinus”, in *Jean Scot. Écrivain* (Acts of the 4<sup>th</sup> international Colloquium, Montréal, August 28-September 2, 1983), Montréal, Paris, 1986, p. 81-113, see p. 92-102; Édouard Jeuneau, “Jean Scot et le grec”, in *Archivum latinitatis Medii Aevi*, n° 41, 1977-1978, p. 5-50; M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Érigène: sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée*, Louvain, Paris (Desclée & Brouwer), 1933 | Bruxelles, 1964.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. L. Traube, in *MGH: Poetae latini aevi Carolini III* (partis alterius), Berlin, 1896, Versus IX: “Aulæ sidereæ..”, p. 552: 98; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, “A Carolingian Renaissance Prince: The Emperor Charles the Bald”, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 64, London, 1980, p. 155-184; P. E. Dutton, “Eriugena, the Royal Poet”, in *Jean Scot. Écrivain*, p. 51-80, see p. 69: notes 82, 83; P. Godman, *Poets and Emperors. Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*, London, Oxford, 1987, p. 170, 174-175; J. L. Nelson, “Charles le Chauve”, in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre de Muretach à Rémi 830-908*, D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy, G. Lobrichon (eds.), Paris, 1991, p. 39-43; cf. M. Herren: <http://www.litriocht.com/Poetry18.html>.

<sup>91</sup> Gulven Madec, “Jean Scot et ses Auteurs”, in *Jean Scot. Écrivain*, p. 154-186, see p. 166 (Boethius), References: G. Madec, G. H. Allard, *Periphyseon*: Book I (Madec, p. 162: 27; Allard, p. 498 B11): “Praesertim magnifico Boetio summo utriusque linguae philosopho in libris suis *de arithmetica* talia asserunt, Sapientia est... *De institutione arithmetica*. Prooemium”; Book I (Madec, p. 174: 21; Allard, p. 503 B14): “Magnificum Boetium”; Book III (Madec, p. 108: 31; Allard, p. 655 A10): “De quibus quisque diligenter scire desiderat magnifici Boetii *de mathesi* libros intentus legat”; Book III (Madec, p. 110: 5; Allard, p. 655 B11): “Analyticas autem regulas in fronte secundi tractatus matheseos magnifici Boetii studiosus quisque talium mirabili naturarum indagatione reperiet”; Book IV (Allard, p. 769 C4) “An aliud uoluit magnificus Boetius intelligi, ubi ait, Sapientia... *De institutione arithmetica*. Prooemium”; Book V (Allard, p. 877 B4): “Boetius quoque in secundo libro *de trinitate*, Non est, inquit, humana anima... *Liber Contra Eutychem et Nestorium* VI, 74”.

<sup>92</sup> The *opera omnia* (complete works) of Johannes Scottus Eriugena are as follows: *De diuina praedestinatione*: 851 (G. Madec, ed., CCCM, 50); *Annotaciones in Marcianum Capellam*: 859 (C. Lutz, ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1939) • *Glosae Martiani*, (Édouard Jeuneau, ed., *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, Montréal, 1978, p. 101-166); *Periphyseon*: 866, J.P. Sheldon-Williams et J.J. O'Meara (eds.), *Inscriptores latini Hiberniae* n° 13, Dublin, 1995; *Expositiones*



and in general very reliable, Platonic scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, albeit, stemming directly from its new Carolingian branch. John Scottus Eriugena was endowed with very acute intelligence and curiosity, and his fields of interest were not only limited to the study of the sevenfold *canon* of the *Liberal Arts*, which he considered as being a part of the primary cognitive process of the human mind<sup>93</sup>, but also included the larger scientific-philosophical perspective of the division of the different parts of nature (ὁ τῆς φύσεως μερισμός • Latin: *diuisio rerum naturae*)<sup>94</sup>. With his ever-active intellect and his high degree of curiosity, he forged his Neo-Platonic research into the mould of the new Carolingian branch of the *Tradition of Knowledge*, and went as far as the general culture of ninth-century Western Europe, as well as that of his immediate milieu, would allow.

We shall now examine together one of the most representative poetical works of John Scottus Eriugena, taken from his theological-philosophical poetry, namely an excerpt of his *Versus VIII [De uerbo incarnato]*: lines 13-27, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis

---

in *Ierarchiam caelestem*: 870, J. Barbet (ed.), *CCCM*, 31; *Omelia Iohannis Scoti*, É. Jeuneau (ed.), *Sources chrétiennes*, 151; *Commentarius in Euangelium Iohannis*: 871, É. Jeuneau (ed.), *Sources chrétiennes*, 180; *Praefatio ad uersionem operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae*: 862, J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae*, Vol. 122: col. 1031-1036; *Praefatio ad uersionem Ambiguorum sancti Maximi*: 864, Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae*, Vol. 122: col. 1193-1196; *Carmina*, L. Traube (ed.), *MGH, Poetae latini aevi carolini*, III, p. 518-556; see also *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts* (University College Cork), Online Resource for Irish Studies: history, literature, politics, etc. [Bibliography: manuscripts and secondary sources]: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/eriugenabibl.html>, 1997-2007; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Medieval Irish books*, Dublin (Four Courts), 2004.

<sup>93</sup> J. J. Contreni, "John Scottus, Martin Hiberniensis, the Liberal Arts, and Teaching", in *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, Hampshire, UK (Variorum), 1992, ch. VI, p. 1-17.

<sup>94</sup> Johannes Scottus Eriugena's major treatise in 5 Books, *Periphyseon* [libri quinque], is the perfect example of the breadth of his scientific-philosophical research: cf. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ph. 2 / 2 (HJ.IV.6), 9<sup>th</sup> c.; *Periphyseon*, J. P. Sheldon-Williams and J. J. O'Meara (eds.), *Scriptores latini Hiberniae* 13, 1995; J.-P. Migne (ed.), *P. L.*, Vol. 122; M.-E. Duchez, "Jean Scot Erigène premier lecteur du *De institutione musica* de Boèce ?", in *Eriugena. Studien zu seiner Quellen. Vorträge des III. Internationalen Eriugena-Colloquiums* (Freiburg im Breisgau, August 27-30, 1979), Heidelberg, Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1980, p.165-187.

latinus 1587, f. 57-64v°, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Fleury [?]; Ludwig Traube (ed.), *MGH, Poeta latini avi carolini*, Vol. 3 (partis alterius), Berlin, 1896 (reprint, 1964), p. 538: 13-27; Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Vol. 122, col. 1221-1240, *Versus VIII [De uerbo incarnato]*: lines 13-27.

**Iohannis Scotti Eriugenæ *Carmina*,  
VIII [De uerbo incarnato], lines 13-27:**

- [13] “Vnum principium• quo rerum uoluitur ordo  
[14] In genus• in species rithmosque ΚΡΟΝΟΣ [ὁ χρόνος]que ΤΟΠΟΣ  
[ὁ τόπος]que•  
[15] Quæ sunt [τὰ ὄντα]• quæ non sunt [τὰ μὴ ὄντα] • sensu seu mente  
uidentur•  
[16] Quæ stant [ἀκίνητος, ος, ον]• quæ uario uoluuntur praedita motu•  
[17] ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ [τὰ πνεύματα] uentorum• uis ignea• lucidus æther•  
[18] Chorus et astrigeræ perpuri luminis ΑΙΓΛΗ [ἡ αἴγλη]  
[19] Palladis• hinc gemmis septem redimita corona•  
[20] ΦΟΕΒΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙΛΒΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΦΟΡΟΣ • ΗΛΙΟΣ • ΑΡΗΣ •  
[ἡ Φοίβη καὶ ὁ Στίλβων καὶ ὁ Φωσφόρος • ὁ ἥλιος • ὁ Ἄρης •]  
[21] ΦΟΕΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΙΝΟΝΟΣ • ΑΚΡΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΚΛΙΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΧΝΗΣ •  
[ὁ Φαέθων καὶ ὁ Φαίνων • ἄκροι περὶ τὰ κλίματα τῆς πάχνης •]  
[22] ΕΞΗC • ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΤΕΘΙC ΑCΧΕΤΟC ΑΛΑC  
[ἐξῆς • τοῦ κόσμου τὸ κέντρον ἡ Τηθύς ἄσχετος τοὺς ἄλλας]  
[23] Cælestis motus modulaminis ΕΝΝΕΑ ΠΙΤΟΝΓΟC  
[οἱ ἐννέα φθόγγοι]  
[24] Summa ΧΕΛΙC [τῆς χέλυος] uocum mortales effugit ΩΤΑC  
[τοῖς ὠσί] •  
[25] Rerum principium primum cognoscite Christum  
[26] Verbum cuncta creans natum de pectore patris •  
[27] Ars • lex• consilium• ΖΩΗ [ἡ ζωή] • sapientia• uirtus• ...”

**Iohannis Scotti Eriugenæ *Carmina*, VIII [*De uerbo incarnato*]:  
lines 13-27** (Proto-philological translation-interpretation: Illo Humphrey)

- [13] [The spiritual Christ] is a principle, by which the order of the universe evolves
- [14] in genres, in spieces and in symmetry [proportion,] in [mesurable] time and in [mesurable] space
- [15] which exist, which do not exist, [according to how they may be] perceived either by the senses or by intelligence,
- [16] certain are immutable, [where as] others evolve in variable movements:
- [17] the blowing of the winds, the force of fire, the bursting [flashes of] the ether •
- [18] [He himself determines] this [movement in] choreography and the streaming lights of the stars
- [19] of Pallas [Minerva, or the number 7], also the [celestial] diademe surrounded by the seven gems:
- [20] Phoībi [Goddess of the Moon], Stílbon [Mercury], and Phosphóros [Venus], Hílios [the Sun], Áris [Mars],
- [21] Phaéthon [Juppiter], Phaínon [Saturn], [situed] at the acme of the [Globe's] frosty climates.
- [22] Then, [placed] in the centre of the universe, [lies] Tithýs [spouse of Okeanós]: the untamable salted Sea,
- [23] [and] the movement of the stars [which engender] *harmony of the spheres* in 9 musical tones,
- [24] [whose sounds], the highest pitches of the constellation *lyra*, are inaudible to the ears of mortals.
- [25] Know then that the [spirituel] Christ is the primary principle [Creator] of the univers,
- [26] The Verb [the Infinitive] and Creator issued out of the inner being of [God the] Father,
- [27] [Indeed, He is] the Art [of supreme Intelligence], Law [Justice], Prudence, Life, Wisdom, Virtue...

### The Theology-Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena: Vocabulary | Word-Concepts | Sources

The vocabulary of the *Versus* VIII: lines 13-27 reveals the general culture of John Scottus Eriugena. Indeed, this theological-philosophical vocabulary seems to indicate that he drew his inspiration not only from Old Testament and New Testament biblical sources (Genesis I,1; John I,1; etc.), but also from a combination of other well-determined sources, which could be identified as the following:

0. (Line 13): “*Unum principium• quo rerum uoluitur ordo*”, cf. Genesis I,1-18; John I,1-3;

1. (Line 14): “*In genus• in species rithmosque KPONOCque TOIIOCque*”, Genesis I,1-25;

2. (Lines 15-16): “*quae sunt • quae non sunt*”, “*quae stant • quae uariant*”, may have been inspired by Marius Victorinus *Ad candidum arrianum* VI,5-7, and by Boethius’ *De institutione arithmetica* I,1, I,2, II,31, II,32;

3. (Lines 19): “*Pallas*” (Minerva, or the number 7), may have been taken from Macrobius *Commentarium in somnium Scipionis* (*Commentary on the Dream of Scipion by Cicero*) I,6, Martianus Capella *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (*On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*) VII: Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* (*On the Philosophy of Numbers and Proportions*) ¶738;

4. (Lines 20-21): “*septem gemmis*” (the 7 celestial bodies: [20] “Phofbi [Goddess of the Moon], Stílbon [Mercury], and Phosphóros [Venus], Hílios [the Sun], Áris [Mars], [21] Phaéthon [Juppiter], Phaínon [Saturn]), may stem from a combination of sources such as: Plato *Tímaios* ¶38 C - ¶38 D • ¶40 E - ¶41A, via Calcidius *Commentarius in Platonis Timaeum* (*Commentary on the Tímaios by Plato*) ¶96 à ¶98; Martianus Capella *De nuptiis Philologiae Mercurii* (*On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*), II *De nuptiis* ¶169-199, VIII *De astronomia* (*On astronomy*) ¶851, and IX *De harmonia* (*On Harmony*); Boethius’ *De institutione musica* (*On the Fundamentals of the Philosophy and Science of Music*) I,27, for the ordre of the celestial bodies;

5. (Line 22): “*ΑΛΑC*” [τοὺς ἄλας = accusative plural], “*sale*” (salt water of the Sea), possibly translated from the Latin singular of “*sal*” (nominative), “*salis*” (genitive), “*sale*” (ablative)”, meaning “salt”; see Vergilius *Aeneid* I,173,

6. (Lines 23, 24): “*Cælestis motus modulaminis ENNEA ITONΓOC*” [οἱ ἐννέα φθόγγοι] (movement of the stars [engendering the *Harmonie* of

*the Spheres*] in 9 musical pitches); Boethius' *De institutione musica* I,27; here, Boethius indicates only 7 celestial bodies, corresponding to 7 musical pitches going from the highest to the lowest in the following order: "hypate meson Saturno" (Saturne), "parhypate Ioviali" (Juppiter), "lichanon meson Marti" (Mars), "Sol mese" (Sun), "parhypate Ioviali" (Juppiter), "trite synemmenon Venus" (Venus), "parnete synemmenon Mercurius" (Mercury), "nete Lunarior" (Moon). Boethius indicates further in the same chapter that Marcus Tullius [Cicero] "*contrarium ordinem facit*", that is to say he gives the same 7 pitches in the opposite order, going from the lowest to the highest: from *Luna* (Moon) to *Saturnus* (Saturne). As for the Greek term *Stílbōn* ("CTIABON" = ὁ Στίλβων, -οντος, from στίλβω: shine very brightly), it is an equivalent synonyme of: ὁ Ἑρμῆς -οῦ, (o Hermís, -oû), that is to say the planet Mercury, used by Aristotle in his treatise *περὶ Κόσμου*, 2,9, and by Martianus Capella *De nuptiis* Book VIII *De astronomia*, cf. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 190, 11<sup>th</sup> c., f. 102r<sup>o</sup>; Mariken Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres. The Ars Musica in the Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella*, Leiden (Brill), 2002, p. 61-62, 190-203;

7. (Line 27): Finally, Plato's divine and human *virtues of the the soul* were called τὰ ἀγαθὰ: Θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα (Lat. *summa bona*, English: *Supreme Good*), ἡ φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια (wisdom | hygiene), ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ κάλλος (temperance | beauty), ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς (justice | power), ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος (courage | wealth), cf. Πλάτωνος Νόμοι ἢ Νομοθεσίαι ΜΓ (Plato *Laws or Legislations* [in 43 Books]) 631-C: Paris, BnF, Fonds grec 1807, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 157v<sup>o</sup>, text and glosses; Aristotle called these same virtues of the soul αἱ ἠθικαὶ ἀρεταί, (ethical strengths): Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ [τῶν] ἠθικῶν *Νικομαχείων* [τῶν εἰς Ι'] (*Aristotle on the [moral precepts] of ethics [to the intention] of [my son] Nikomachos [in 10 Books]*) I,13: 1102a 27, Paris, BnF, Fonds grec 1853, 10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 393r<sup>o</sup>-437v<sup>o</sup>; Apuleius called them *quattuor virtutes animæ*, cf. *De Platone et eius dogmate* (*On Plato and his Teachings*) II,7, and Boethius referred to them as *summum bonum* or *summa bona* (*Consolatio Philosophiae* III, prosae 2, 10, 12). As for John Scott Eriugena's possible sources of the *virtutes animæ*, they may have been taken from one of the following: Marcus Tullius Cicero: *Partitiones oratoriae* (*Division the rhetorical art of Oratory*) ¶76-79; Macrobius: *Commentarium in somnium Scipionis* (*Commentary on the Dream of*

*Scipion by Cicero*); I,8,8, Cassiodorus: *Institutiones* (Foundamentals of general culture and of the scientific-philosophical tradition of knowledge), II,2: 5-7; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum* (Origins of concepts and terms pertaining to general culture and to the scientific-philosophical tradition of knowledge), II, 24 : 5-6.

In analyzing this theological-philosophical *Versus*, composed in dactylic hexameters (meter used in Greek and Latin epic poetry: Homer, Virgil, etc., including, of course, that of Boethius, cf. *Consolatio Philosophiae*, Liber III, Metrum 9: *O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas*•), one observes that the three concepts: τὸ ἕν, ἑνός • τὸ ὄν, ὄντος • τὸ πᾶν, παντός represent, in the Eriugenian jargon, the spiritual Christ, principle and source of the creation of the intelligible et immutable world, as well as of the sensible and variable world<sup>95</sup>. Next, in lines 15-16, one discovers the Eriugenian *leitmotivs*: *quae sunt* • *quae non sunt* (τὰ ὄντα • τὰ μὴ ὄντα), *quae stant* • *quae uariant* (ἀκίνητος • κινητός), which reveal a direct link with Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica* I,1 • I,2 • II,31 • II,32. Then in lines 20 and 21, the author mentions the seven celestial bodies, not the arrangement proposed by Plato, which was in turn adopted by Calcidius<sup>96</sup>, but the one proposed by Nikómachos o Gerasinós in his *Excerpta*<sup>97</sup>, which is the self-same arrangement adopted by Boethius<sup>98</sup>. In lines 23 and 24, the author evokes the theme of the *harmonie of the spheres*, composed here of 9 musical tones<sup>99</sup>, instead of the usual 7 (see also *Versus III Auribus hebraicis*...: l. 17-20), which he explains “are inaudible to the ears of mortals”.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. G. A. Piemonte, “L’expression ‘quae sunt et quae non sunt’: Jean Scot et Marius Victorinus”, p. 105; cf. *Periphyseon*, I, 517A.

<sup>96</sup> Here is the ordre according to Plato and Calcidius: ἡ Γῆ (Earth) • ἡ Σελήνη (Moon) • ὁ ἥλιος (Sun) • ὁ Ἐωσφόρος (Venus) • ὁ Ἑρμῆς (Mercury) • ὁ Ἄρης (Mars) • ὁ Ζεὺς (Juppiter) • ὁ Κρόνος (Saturne); cf. Pláton, *Tímaios* §38 D, §40 E; Calcidius *Timaens* §XCVI-XCVII.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασσηνός, τὰ Ἀνάλεκτα γ', ed. von Jan, p. 271-272; Κλαύδιος Πτολεμαῖος, ἡ μέγιστη Πραγματεία, I,1, I,2., ed. Heiberg, 1898-1903.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Boethii *De institutione musica* I,27: Luna, Mercurius, Venus, Sol, Mars, Juppiter, Saturnus; cf. Bower, *Fundamentals*..., p. 46.

<sup>99</sup> Reference is made here to the lyre composed of 9 chords, whose invention Boethius attributes to Προφραστὺς ὁ Πιερίτης, (Prophrastós Períotis “ut faceret totum enneachordum.”), cf. Boethii *De istitutione musica libri quinque* I,20; G. Friedlein, p. 208; C. Meyer, p. 66-67. It is useful also to remember that

### Observations on Iohannes Scottus Eriugena

John Scottus Eriugena was the Headmaster of the *Schola palatina* (Palace imperial school) at Laon (France – 02000, Administrative Seat of the Département of l’Aisne)<sup>100</sup>; his research may be subdivided into a typology of four distinct genres, namely: *poetry* • *science* • *philosophy* • *theology*. His poetry was addressed to the royalty, his science was based on the *quadrivium*, his philosophy was universal characterized by *thesis* and *antithesis*, his theology was of exegetical and polemical nature. John Scottus Eriugena appears to have acquired a certain mastery of the *quattuor matheseos disciplinae*, as shows his treatise *Annotationes in Marcianum Capellam*, of which exist two different versions: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 12960 (Corbie [?], 9<sup>th</sup> c.), and Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. T. 2. 19 (9<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>101</sup>. Among the sources of these two versions of the *Annotationes in Marcianum Capellam*, certain works of Boethius hold a place of honour, namely: *In Porphyrii eisagogen* • *In categorias Aristotelis libri IV* • *περί τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους Ἑρμηνείας* (*De interpretatione Aristotelis*)<sup>102</sup>, then in the Oxford version, le *De institutione musica libri quinque*<sup>103</sup>. In studying then the manuscripts containing the texts and glosses of John Scottus Eriugena<sup>104</sup>, we see that

---

certain Pythagoreans, of whom Philólaos, the direct disciple of Pythagóras, taught that there were 1 + 9 celestial bodies in our solar system.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. J. J. Contreni, “John Scottus, Martin Hiberniensis, the Liberal Arts, and Teaching”, in *Variorum*, 1992, ch. VI, p. 1-17; cf. letter of Pardoul of Laon dated 851-852: “Scottum illum qui est in palatio regis • Iohannes nomine • scribere coegimus”; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, 121, *Epistolae ad ecclesiam Lugdunensem* [Laon, Department: Aisne, Region: Picardie, France 02000], col. 1052; M. Cappyuns, Jean Scot Erigène, p. 53-54, 116-117.

<sup>101</sup> Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 12960 (9<sup>th</sup> c.) | Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. T. 2. 19 (9<sup>th</sup> c.): Cf. M. Herren, “The Commentary on Martianus attributed to John Scottus: Its Hiberno-Latin Background”, in *Jean Scot. Ecrivain*, p. 267-273; L. Labowsky, “A new Version of Scotus Eriugena’s Commentary on Martianus Capella”, in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies I*, 1941-1943, p. 187-193; É. Jeauneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, Montréal, 1978, p. 91-166.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. C. Lutz, *Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum*, Cambridge, Massachusetts (USA), 1939, p. XXIII.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. M. Herren, “The Commentary on Martianus attributed to John Scottus: Its Hiberno-Latin Background”, p. 283; É. Jeauneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, p. 119: note 41.

<sup>104</sup> Since Jean-Barthélemy Hauréau (*Le commentaire sur Jean Scot Erigène sur Martianus Capella*, Paris, 1861; *Histoire de la philosophie scolastique*, Paris,

his research is deeply rooted in the Platonic scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, which stems directly from the παιδεία of the Mediterranean basin, from the σοφία of Pre-Europe, and from the *humanitas* of the European civilisation itself. Indeed, this *Tradition of Knowledge* gave body to his teachings, equilibrium to his train of thought, and longevity to his Work.

Thus, in the light of the *Versus VIII [De uerbo incarnato]*: lines 13-27, a very representative work in the output of John Scottus Eriugena, one can measure with more certainty the influence with which the research of Boethius had on him. Indeed, the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, *De institutione musica libri quinque*, *In Porphyrii eisagogen*, *In categorias Aristotelis libri IV*, *De interpretatione Aristotelis (περί τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους Ἑρμηνείας)*, and the *Consolatio Philosophiae* seem to have contributed in a decisive manner to the general culture of this remarkable Carolingian philosopher.

---

1872-1880), the first in-depth proto-philological and palaeographical research on the manuscript tradition of John Scot Eriugena was done by L. Traube, E.K. Rand, B. Bischoff, etc. Their research revealed the presence of two different hands in John Scott's manuscript tradition, namely: hand "i<sup>1</sup>" (cf. Laon, B.m. ms. 24: f. 1r<sup>o</sup>; ms. 8: f. 47 Leiden B.P.L. 67 • Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 13345: f. 96v<sup>o</sup> • Reims, B.m. ms. 875: f. 1-80, 113-318), and hand "i<sup>2</sup>" (cf. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek: ms. Patr. 46 (Q.VI.32), f. 22-41; ms. Ph. 2 / 1 (HJ.IV.5); ms. Ph. 2 / 2 (HJ.IV.6) • Leiden B.P.L. 88 • Paris, Mazarine, ms. 56: f. 67v<sup>o</sup> • Paris, BnF, Fonds latins: 13908 (2<sup>e</sup> partie) et 14088: f. 1r<sup>o</sup> - 1v<sup>o</sup> • Reims, B.m. ms 875: f. 81-112, 319-358, etc.). These first two generations of proto-philological research on John Scott have been relayed by a subsequent group of 20<sup>th</sup>-century researchers, such as: M. Cappuyns, C. Lutz, L. Bieler, J. Sheldon-Williams, J. O'Meara, J. Barbet, P. Dutton, E. Jeaneau, G. Madec, G. Piemonte, M. Herren, C. Coallier, J. Contreni, R. Roques, J. Marenbon, etc., who have participated actively in a series of international symposia on John Scott Eriugena, held respectively in Dublin (July, 1970), in Laon (July, 1975), in Freiburg-im-Breisgau (August, 1979), in Montréal (August-September, 1983); cf. E. Jeaneau, *Jean Scot. Commentaire sur l'Evangile de Jean*, (*Sources chrétiennes* n° 180), Paris, 1972, p. 70-77; G.-H. Allard et G. Madec, *Jean Scot Ecrivain*, p. 9-12, et p. 143-155; see also the excellent bibliographie of the Corpus of Electronic Texts (UCC): <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/eriugenabibl.html>, 1997-2007, taken from Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Medieval Irish books*, Dublin (Four Courts), 2004. **Nota bene:** Here, it is with pleasure that I extend my sincere gratitude to Pr. Dr. Édouard Jeaneau, Fellow at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto (PIMS), for having so generously shared with me precious and precise information concerning the manuscript tradition of John Scott Eriugena.



# SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY:

## • E. K. Rand:

“How Much of the Annotationes in Marcianum is the Work of John the Scot ?”  
*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 71, Case  
 Western Reserve University Press, Cleveland, Ohio (USA), 1940, pp. 501-523 •

## • Edwin A. Quain:

*A stylistic Study of the Works of John the Scot*, doctoral dissertation, Harvard University,  
 Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1941 •

## • Ludwig Bieler:

“Remarks on Eriugena’s original Latin Prose”, in *The Mind of Eriugena*, John J.  
 O’Meara and Ludwig Bieler (eds.), Colloquium held in Dublin July 14-18, 1970,  
 Dublin (IUP), 1973, p. 140-146 •

## • M. Lapidge:

“L’influence stylistique de la poésie de Jean Scot”, in *Jean Scot Erigène et l’histoire de la  
 philosophie*, (Colloquium of the CNRS n° 561 held in Laon, France, on the 7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>  
 of July, 1975), R. Roques (ed.), Paris, 1977, 441-452;

[http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/Johannes\\_s\\_e.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/Johannes_s_e.shtml); <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/eriugenabibl.html> •



---

**CHAPTER 5: BOETHIUS AND THE COGNITIVE PROCESS**

---

## CHAPTER 5

### BOETHIUS AND THE COGNITIVE PROCESS

(a *proto-philological* Study of the Glosses at the beginning of the  
Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque* I,1)

#### Boethii *De institutione musica*: History and Manuscript Tradition

The Boethius treatise *De institutione musica libri quinque*, (*On the Fundamentals of the Philosophy and Science of Music in five Books*), seems to have been written in the early stages of his career, probably between a. D. 500 and a. D. 510. This major scientific-philosophical work is in fact a complex and well-integrated tri-disciplinary treatise, uniting into one:

(a) the philosophy of the cognitive process (ἡ γνώμη: *cognitio*) including the faculty of perception through the five senses (τὸ αἰσθητήριον: *perceptio sensuum*);

(b) the philosophy of numbers and proportions (ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ τέχνη: *ars arithmetica*);

(c) the philosophy of the formation of musical sounds (ὁ φθόγγος: *phthongos*), musical intervals (ἡ μουσικὴ τέχνη: *ars musica*); in short, the complete musical παιδεία (cf. Kalli Giannelos, *Dimension politique de la paideia musicale chez Platon à travers la République et les Lois*, Université Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne), UFR de Philosophie, Thesis, Master 1, 2009).

The Boethii *De institutione musica*, a twin and complementary treatise of his *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* (*On the Fundamentals of the Philosophy and Science of Numbers and Proportions in two Books*), is, just as the *De institutione arithmetica*, a personalized and up-to-date translation from the Greek. Indeed, the first four Books of the Latin translation of the Boethii *De musica* are based on the now lost treatise by the ‘Middle-Platonist’ Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός Μουσικὴ εἰσαγωγή<sup>105</sup>, and the Book V of the Boethii *De musica* is based on Book I of the still extant treatise of yet another ‘Middle-Platonist’ Κλαύδιος Πτολεμαῖος, τὰ Ἀρμονικά, Α' : α' – Α' :

<sup>105</sup> Nikómachos o Gerasinós, †ca. 125, *Mousikí eisagogí*, cf. C. M. Bower, “Boethius and Nicomachus”, *Vivarium* 16, 1978, p. 1-45.

106. It is useful to know that Book V of the Boethii *De institutione musica* is unfinished, ending abruptly in the middle of a sentence in *Capitulum XVIII* (Chapter 19) of the XXX announced *Capitula*. Thus, at the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Boethius had at his disposal the treatise on the Philosophy and Science of Music of Nikómachos o Gerasinós, subsequently lost seemingly as of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and that of Klaúdios Ptolemaíos, still extant.

As was indicated above, the first known mention and citation of the Boethii *De institutione musica* since Cassiodorus (\*ca. 480 - †ca. 575) occurred between the years 821 and 823 by the liturgist Amalarius of Metz, one of the last pupils of Alcuin of York (†804) at Saint-Martin de Tours, in his *Liber Officialis*, III, 11 :15-16:

“Musica habet quandam naturalem vim ad flectendum animum• sicut Boetius in suo libro scribit, quem de musica fecit• *Vulgatum quippe est quam saepe iracundias cantilena represserit• quam multa uel in corporum• uel in animorum affectionibus miranda perfecerit*’;...”

“Music has the power to sweeten the spirits, as wrote Boethius rightly so in his book which he wrote on *ars musica*: ‘It is common knowledge that a simple musical melody can often calm anger spells, and can work miracles in a variety of manners, both in the ailments of the body as well those of the mind’.

This brief citation, at the very heart of the therapeutic aspect of the cognitive process, is an echo of a passage in the dialogue Πλάτωνος Συμπόσιον Πρξ’ c (Plato, *The Banquet* 187c), in the words of the physician (medical doctor) Έρυξίμαχος (Eryxímachos):

“...ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ ἡ ἰατρική• ἐνταῦθα ἡ μουσική ἐντίθησιν•  
ἔρωτα καὶ ὁ μόνον αὐτῶν ἀλλήλων ἐμποιήσασα• καὶ ἔστιν•  
αὗτὴ μουσικὴ περὶ ἀρπυγίαν καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιστήμη”•

<sup>106</sup> Klaúdios Ptolemaíos, †ca. 168, τὰ *Harmoniká* I, 1 - I,16; cf. Ingemar Düring (ed.), *Die Harmonielehre des Claudios Ptolemaios*, (Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift n° 36), Göteborg, 1930; reprint, *Ancient Philosophy* n° 10, New York, 1980, p. 3-39; J. L. Heiberg (ed.), Leipzig, 1903; **RISM [Greek]**: T. J. Mathiesen (ed.), n° 79, p. 204: Paris, BnF, Fonds grec 2450, 14<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1v-33v; Codex Venetus Marcianus (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana), gr. app. cl. VI n° 10, 12<sup>th</sup> c.

“...thus, just as medicine, so here also, music is capable of engendering concord and reestablishing love, [equilibrium,] and well-being between opposing harmony and rhythm, music being the science of love”.

The passage of Amalarius on the cognitive process, and more precisely on the *ethos of modes*<sup>107</sup>, based on Boethii *De musica*, I,1<sup>108</sup>, seems to indicate that this treatise was already well-known as of the year 800. Then, it appears in 821 in the catalogue de Reginbertus (†846)<sup>109</sup>, *armarius* (librarian) of *Augia insula* (Reichenau, founded in 724 by Pirminius). On this point, the German musicologist Michael Bernhard, in revisiting the research of Bernhard Bischoff (1906-1991), puts forth the hypothesis, supported by 4 interesting arguments, that the Boethii *De institutione musica* may well have been a part of the hypothetical *Bibliotheca Palatina* in Aachen as early as the year 780<sup>110</sup>; notwithstanding, this interesting hypothesis, yet unanswered, merits supplementary research.

The six oldest known 9<sup>th</sup>-century copies of the *De institutione musica*, all abundantly annotated and all a part of the self same family of manuscripts are listed below<sup>111</sup>. Of these six codices, the manuscrit Paris,

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 64: Fabien Delouvé, “De l’influence de Boèce dans les traités de musique du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance: sur la transmission et le diffusion de la théorie dite ‘de l’ethos’ des modes”, in *Colloquia Aquitana I. Études médiévales...*, Illo Humphrey, (ed.), p. 47-78 (Notes: p. 69-74; Bibliography: p. 75-78).

<sup>108</sup> Cf. *supra*, notes 47, 53, 54; Migne, *P. L.*, t. 105, col. 1120 • I. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, t. II, p. 296-297, see ¶15; Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, I,1; G. Friedlein, p. 184 : 7-9, et p. 183: 11 à p. 184: 7; C. Bower, p. 5, 6; C. Meyer, p. 26-27.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *supra*, notes 14, 38: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz I: Die Diözesen Konstanz und Chur*, p. 258: 2; R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, p. 179-182.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *supra*, Chapter 1, note 37: B. Bischoff, “Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen”, p. 42; M. Bernhard, “Rezeption des Institutio Musica des Boethius im frühen Mittelalter”, p. 601-612.

<sup>111</sup> The following *codices* are the six oldest known 9<sup>th</sup>-century copies of the *De institutione musica libri quinque*:

- (1) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 [origin→ Laon – Soissons (?) *via* Fleury-sur-Loire (?)],
- (2) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7297 [origin→ Fleury-sur-Loire – Auxerre (?)],
- (3) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 13908 [origin→ Corbie (?)],
- (4) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 13955 [origin→ Corbie (?), Fulda (?)],

BnF, Fonds latin 7200 appears to be the oldest known copy of the Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, dating, so it seems, between 800 and 830; this hypothesis is based on an exhaustive *proto-philological* study of its Latin glosses, its 112 glosses in Latin stenography<sup>112</sup>, and its 104 *notae sentenciarum*<sup>113</sup>, which accompany the glosses. Thus, in the cradle of the new branch of the Carolingian *Tradition of Knowledge*, that is to say in the territory called *Neustria* (Northwest Gaule between the Loire river on the South, and “*Urbs aquensis, urbs regalis*”: the city of Aachen, Germany, on the North), one observes, between the years 782 and 850, a complete assimilation of the teachings of this treatise, as is fully attested by the anonymous and very pertinent commentaries of the earliest family of glosses. The Latin archetype of the Boethii *De musica* manuscript tradition, probably from the 6<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century, was written, seemingly, in uncial script. This hypothesis is based on the scribal error found rightly so in the *codex* Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200, folio 81 v<sup>o</sup>: line 19 (*De musica* V,12). This scribal error is due to a faulty reading of

---

(5) Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 293 (*olim* 247) [origin→ Fleury-sur-Loire (?)], (6) Vaticano, BAV, Reginensis latinus 1638 [origin→ Fleury-sur-Loire (?)]; Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A provisional list of Manuscripts*, (Medieval Studies and Sources n° 3), Hilversum, 1989, p. 15-44, 166, 214-215 (n° BF 1096-BF 1098 = Paris, BnF Fonds latin 7200, 9<sup>th</sup> c.). To these six *codices*, belongs also Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 10275 (origin: Echternach, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.), a direct descendant of the oldest manuscript family containing the Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*; M. Bernhard et C. Bower, *Glossa maior...*, t. I, p. XLVI, LXXIII – LXXV, p. 4, p. 7, p. 23, p. 26, p. 40, p. 73, p. 83-84, p.109, p.113, p. 124, p. 145, p. 209, p. 223, p. 285, p. 293, p. 323, p. 353..

<sup>112</sup> I. Humphrey, *Le De institutione musica libri quinque de Boèce dans le manuscrit B.n.F., latin 7200 (IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*: Thesis at the École Pratique des Hautes Études IV<sup>th</sup> Section-Sorbonne, 1994; reference number at the Library of the ÉPHÉ: Thèse 2 MS 319 (Vol. 1– 4), Vol. 2, p. 1 – 58, Vol. 3: pl. 20a – 25a; I. Humphrey, “La sténographie latine (notes dites tironiennes), état de la question”, in *Colloquia Aquitana* I – 2005, *Études médiévales: Patrimoine matériel et immatériel*, I. Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2006, p. 99-152, see p. 117-143.

<sup>113</sup> *Notae sentenciarum* (cross-reference signs), cf. Isidori Hispalensis *Etymologiarum* I, XXI: *De notis sentenciarum*; José Lopez de Toro, *Abreviatiuras hispanicas*, 1957, Pl. XXXV; I. Humphrey, *Le De institutione musica...*, Vol. 3: pl. 26a-30a; I. Humphrey, “Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*: Étude proto-philologique”, in *Carmina Philosophiae* Vol. 14, 2005, p. 57-158, voir : p. 111-121.

an uncial “M”, namely the mistranscription of the phoneme “EOMELIS” written in *capitalis rustica* script, which was corrected to “ENMELIS”: that is to say “*emmelis*” [gr. ἐμμελής, ἤς, ἑς] (meaning: that which is suitable for melody, but is not itself a musical consonance; e.g. the whole tone of *sesquioctava* proportion  $8 \rightarrow 9$ , or in absolute proportion  $1 \rightarrow 1,125$ ). This scribal confusion, between the uncial letters “M” and “O” is a typical and well-known error often observed in manuscripts copied from models in uncial script<sup>114</sup>. Apart from the *codex* Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200, this scribal error, until this day, has never been observed in any other *codex* of the manuscript tradition of Boethius’ *De institutione musica libri quinque*.

### Proto-philological Study of the Glosses on the Cognitive Process

This brief *proto-philological* study of the beginning of the Boethii *De institutione musica* is divided into ten paragraphs, entitled respectively:

- ¶ 1 Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque* I,1 – *Proœmium* (beginning) •
- ¶ 2 Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1(beginning) – English translation-interpretation •
- ¶ 3 Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1 (beginning) – Greek de-translation •
- ¶ 4 Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1; I,8; I,14 – Cognitive Process: Greek–Latin–English Glossary •
- ¶ 5 Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1; I,14 – Glosses on the Cognitive Process •
- ¶ 6 Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1; I,14 – *Tironian notes*. Critical Glossary •
- ¶ 7 Bibliography 1 (Latin Sténography: “*tironian notes*”) •
- ¶ 8 Bibliography 2 (Glosses – Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*) •

<sup>114</sup> F. W. Shipley, “Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts. A Study based upon two Manuscripts of Livy: Codex Puteanus [Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 5730, 5<sup>th</sup> c.] and its copy Codex Reginensis latinus 762 [Vaticano, BAV, 9<sup>th</sup> c.]”, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Series 2, vol. VII, 1903, p. 1-35, 157-197, 405-428; see p.165; Jean Vezin, “Les reliures carolingiennes de cuir à décor estampé de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris”, in *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes*, 1970, n° 128, p. 81-113, see p. 91 (note 4). **Nota bene:** “Puteanus” is the Latin designation for the 16<sup>th</sup>-century French humanist Claude Dupuy (1545-1594), cf. Jérôme Delatour, *Les livres de Claude Dupuy: une bibliothèque humaniste au temps des guerres de religion*, Paris (Presses de l’Enssib et de l’École des chartes), 1998, p. 57-68.

¶ 9 *Notae Sententiarum* (Cross-Reference Signs | Annotation Signs) in the Glosses of Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 •

¶10 *Notae Sententiarum* – Proto-Philological Critical Edition based on the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), *Boethii De institutione musica libri quinque*, f. 1r<sup>o</sup> - f. 85v<sup>o</sup> •

The aim of this chapter is to determine the σκοπός, that is to say the veritable purpose, of the Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1, which is firmly rooted in Plato's research on the cognitive process, and in the fundamental Boethian concept of “*substantia numeri*”. Let us now read the transcription of the Latin text taken from the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1: 7 - 1v<sup>o</sup>: 12, followed by a *proto-philological* English translation-interpretation.

¶ 1 *Boethii De institutione musica libri quinque* I,1 – *Prooemium* (beginning):

[1] [f. 1r<sup>o</sup>: 7] **OMNIUM QUIDEM PERCEPTIO SENSUUM ITA SPONTE**

ac naturaliter quibusdam uiuentibus adest• ut sine his animal non possit intellegi •

Sed non aequae eorundem cognitio ac firma perceptio animi inuestigatione colligitur •

[2] Inlaboratum est enim quod sensum percipiendis sensibilibus rebus adhibemus• Quae uero sit ipsorum sensuum• secundum quos agimus• natura• quae rerum sensibilibus proprietas• id non obuium neque cuilibet explicabile esse potest• nisi quem conueniens inuestigatio ueritatis contemplatione direxerit •

[3] Adest enim cunctis mortalibus uisus• Qui utrum uenientibus ad uisum figuris, an ad sensibilia radiis emissis efficiatur• inter doctos quidem dubitabile est• uulgum uero ipsa quoque dubitatio praeterit •

[4] Rursus cum quis triangulum respicit uel quadratum• facile id quod oculis intuetur agnoscit• sed quænam quadrati uel trianguli sit natura• a mathematico necesse est petat •

[5] Idem quoque de ceteris sensibilibus dici potest• Maximeque de arbitrio aurium• quarum uis ita sonos captat• ut non modo de his iudicium capiat differentiasque [f. 1v<sup>o</sup>] cognoscat• uerum etiam delectetur sepius [sic]• si dulces coaptatique modi sint• angatur uero• si dissipati atque incoherentes [sic] feriant sensum •

[6] Vnde fit ut• cum sint quattuor matheseos disciplinae• ceterae quidem in inuestigatione ueritatis laborent• Musica uero non modo speculationi uerum etiam moralitati coniuncta sit • Nihil est enim tam



proprium humanitatis• quam remitti dulcibus modis• adstringi contrariis• Idque non sese in singulis uel studiis uel aetatibus tenet• Verum per cuncta diffunditur studia• Et infantes ac iuuenes nec non etiam senes ita naturaliter affectu quodam spontaneo modis musicis adiunguntur• ut nulla omnino sit aetas• quæ a cantilenæ dulcis delectatione seiuncta sit •

[7] Hinc etiam internosci potest• quod non frustra a platone dictum sit• Mundi animam musica conuenientia fuisse coniunctam•

¶ 2     *Boethius De institutione musica I,1 (beginning) – English translation-interpretation:*

[1] Indeed• the perception (ἡ αἴσθησις, –εως) [by means of the faculties] of all the senses (τὸ αἰσθητήριον, –ον) is to such an extent spontaneously and naturally present in certain living beings, that without them [that is to say without the faculty of the senses] the human animal can in no wise be understood• But [it must be kept in mind that] it is not only [through] the cognitive [intellectual] process of reasoning (ἡ γνώμη, –ης)• but indeed it is also through [the cognitive sensorial process (ἡ ἔμπειρος αἴσθησις, –εως)• that is to say] through the participation of the faculty of the senses• [that] the mind acquires a solid perception [of things] by means of [true scientific and philosophical] investigation (ἡ ζήτησις, –εως) •

[2] It goes without saying that we call upon our senses in order to perceive [and apprehend] things [in the world around us] • What however• is the [veritable σκοπός (skopós)• of the senses themselves• [that is to say their veritable] nature [and substance]• which determines our actions [and behaviour]• and what are the individual properties• [that is to say the component parts]• of the said senses (?)• Indeed• it is not obvious for one to be able to explain [clearly] the σκοπός of the faculty of the senses• neither can the said senses be adequately understood without a [true scientific and philosophical] investigation (ἡ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ζήτησις, –εως) conducted [according to thorough research methods] •

[3] Present, for example, in all mortal [beings] is the faculty of sight (ἡ ὄψις, –εως • ἡ ὀπτική αἴσθησις)• [this notwithstanding• in order to be able to determine] whether [or not] the sense of sight is produced by [means of] incoming images• or• [on the contrary•] by [means of] the emission of outgoing rays towards [external] tangible objects (τὸ αἰσθητὸ ὄντα)• [is not an easy task]• indeed• [even] among the wise and learned (σοφός, σοφοί)• there is doubt [and uncertainty on this question]• [and] for the average everyday citizen• [this question is] all the more so a stumbling block •

[4] Then too• [taking for example]• the triangle or the perfect square• one observes and recognizes easily through the eyes the external tangible forms [of these two geometric figures]• however• he [or she] who wishes to know their veritable [σκοπός] would then be obliged to refer to a mathematician [skilled in *ars arithmetica* (ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ τέχνη)• that is to say skilled in the philosophy of numbers and proportions, including the concepts of unity (ἓν, ἐνός (τὸ))• duality (δυάς, –άδος (ἡ))• triality (τριάς, –άδος (ἡ)) • mixed essence (μιγρῆς οὐσία, –ας (ἡ))• proportionality (ἀναλογία, –ας (ἡ))• equality (ἰσότης, –ητος (ἡ))• inequality (ἀνισότης, –ητος (ἡ))• mean (μεσότης, –ης (ἡ)) and ἀναλογία, –ας (ἡ))• line (γραμμὴ, –ῆς (ἡ))• angle (γωνία, –ας (ἡ))• circle (κύκλος, –ου (ὁ))• surface (ἐπιπολῆς (τὸ) and ἐπιφάνεια, –ας (ἡ))• etc.] •

[5] By the same token• this can likewise be said of other tangible objects and forms (τὸ αἰσθητόν, –οῦ) [perceived by the senses]• and above all the sound objects (τὸ ἀκουστόν, –οῦ) perceived by the ears• [organs of the faculty of hearing (ἡ ἀκουστικὴ αἴσθησις)] which [are physiologically designed to] capt the force of sound [vibrations]• [and this•] not only [that one may] grasp [with keen] judgment [the said] sound vibrations• and recognize [with precision] their differences• but also• [that one may] often delect oneself with the sweet sounds of [certain musical] modes• if [indeed] these musical modes are well-composed• [then too• it must be noted that]• one may also experience anguish and anxiety• if the musical sounds• poorly

composed and incoherent• shock [in a disagreeable manner] the sense [of hearing] •

[6] It is for this reason [that is to say for the purpose of true scientific and philosophical investigation] that the four disciplines based on the philosophy of numbers and proportions [and on mathematical reasoning] exist• and *ars musica*• [just as the other three disciplines]• plays an important role in the [process of judging• recognizing• and] investigating [scientific-philosophical] truth• however• [it must be noted that] *ars musica* is not only a speculative intellectual discipline• but it is also [intimately bound to and in conjunction with the realm of] ethical philosophy (τὸ ἡθικόν, -οῦ) [that is to say the management of moral well-being]• Nothing• indeed• [is more akin to] *humanitas* (ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις, -εως: *human nature*) than to be relaxed and soothed by the sweet [sounds of certain musical] modes• then too [nothing is more akin to human nature than]• to be tensed and stressed by [certain musical modes which shock one's moral fiber in a most disagreeable manner]• And [it must be noted] that this is in no wise [relegated] to [any given cultural group of] individuals• [to any given field of] study• nor [to any given] age [group]• [and indeed] the fact of the matter is that [the discipline of *ars musica*• being so deeply rooted into the cognitive process] permeates the studies [of many different fields]• and [what is more]• children• and youth• and even senior citizens • by virtue of their passionate affinity to music• are all naturally and spontaneously drawn to [certain] musical modes• and so much so• that regardless of their age group• they delect themselves in music• and in no wise seek to detach themselves from the sweet sounds of song•

[7] Hence• [given the fact that *ars musica* is so deeply rooted into the *cognitio* of the soul (ἡ ψυχή, -ῆς)• the heart-mind (ὁ θυμός, -οῦ • ὁ νοῦς, -οῦ)• and the faculty of the senses (τὸ αἰσθητήριον, -ου)]• it may be recognized [and admitted by all as being true] that which was said• and rightly so• by [the school of thought of] Plato• that [the fundamental principle of ἡ ἁρμονία• which governs the formation of musical sound (ὁ φθόγγος, -ου)• of the musical interval (τὸ διάστημα, -ατος)]• of the musical consonance (ἡ συμφωνία, -ας)• and in particular the formation of both the *regime of the octave* (ἡ διὰ

πασῶν [χορδῶν] συμφωνία:  $1 \rightarrow 2^n \rightarrow \infty$ ) and the *regime of the perfect fifth* (ἡ διὰ πέντε [χορδῶν] συμφωνία:  $1 \rightarrow 3^n \rightarrow \infty$ ) • is [as of the very embryonic stage of the fetus intimately rooted into and] in [close] conjunction with the genesis [and the structure] of the soul (ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς γένεσις • [ἡ ψυχογονία] • “*animae generatio*” • “*mundi anima*”:  $1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4 \rightarrow 9 \rightarrow 8 \rightarrow 27 \rightarrow 243 \rightarrow 256 \rightarrow \infty$ )<sup>115</sup>.

¶ 3 Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1 (beginning) – Greek de-translation:

The contents of this extraordinary *Prooemium* suggest that Boethius was well-versed in the cognitive research of Plato as found, for example, in Πλάτωνος Πολιτεία [sic] ἡ περὶ Δικαίου Ἀ', (Plato, *The Republic or on Justice* ¶398c-¶399d; 424b, c), Πλάτωνος Τίμαιος ἡ περὶ Φύσεως λε' B – λζ' B (Plato, *Tímaios or on Nature* ¶35b à ¶36a), Πλάτωνος Συμπόσιον Πρζ' a – Πρζ' e (Plato, *The Banquet* 186a – 187e), Πλάτωνος Νόμοι ἡ Νομοθεσία ΜΓ (Plato, *Laws or Legislations*] 631c), etc. Indeed, if one conducts an attentive examination just below the surface of the Latin text of Boethius, one will discover, thanks to the very reliable *proto-philological* tool of *de-translation* back to the original language (in this case Greek), a series of key-word concepts pertaining to the cognitive process, *cognitio* being a fundamental aspect of the παιδεία of *ars musica*.

<sup>115</sup> Πλάτωνος Τίμαιος ἡ περὶ Φύσεως λε' B – λζ' B, Plato *Tímaios or on Nature* ¶35B – ¶36B, cf. Paris, BnF, Fonds grec 1807, f. 120v<sup>o</sup>: column 1; Boethii *De arithmetica* II,2: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 38r<sup>o</sup>; Illo Humphrey, *Boethius De institutione arithmetica libri duo. Édition proto-philologique intégrale princeps...* (Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064), *texte, gloses, notes tironiennes, signes de renvoi*, Institute of Medieval Music, Musicological Studies Vol. LXXXVI, Ottawa, 2007, p. 101; Illo Humphrey, “Quelques observations sur le processus cognitif chez Platon et chez Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II. Boèce ([Boethius], Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524), l'homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris, 2009, Volume II: Chapter 18, p. 407-439.

### ἡ τοῦ Βοήθειου Μουσικὴ εἰσαγωγὴ τῶν εἰς ε' : Α', α'

[¶ 1] Ἡ τῶν πάντων γὰρ αἰσθητήριων αἴσθησις  
 οὕτως ἐκουσίως καὶ ἀπλῶς [ἀφελῶς] τιςὶν τοῖς ζῴοις ἐστί•  
 ὥστε ἄνευ ὄντινων τὸ ζῶον ἀδυνατεῖ  
 περιλαμβάνεσθαι [μανθάνεσθαι] •  
 οὐ μόνον τῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἀσφαλῆς αἴσθησις τῇ ζήτησει καταλαμβάνεται •  
 εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ ὅ ταῖς αἰσθηταῖς τῷ αἰσθητήριῳ χράομεν •  
 ἢ ὅντως αὐτῶν αἰσθητήριων ἐστί•  
 κατὰ ἃ προσφέρομεν• ἢ φύσει• ἢ τὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἴδιον  
 ὅ τι οὐ ῥαδίως οὐδέ ᾧτινι [παντὶ τινὶ] ἀποδεικτὴ δύναται εἶναι•  
 ἐὰν μὴ ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ζήτησις τόνδε τῇ θεωρίᾳ διοικῇ • ...  
 [¶ 7] Οὕτως πάλιν δύναται διαγιγνώσθαι [καὶ παντὶ ὁμολογέσθαι]•  
 ὅ διὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ λόγου λέγοντος •  
 ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς γένεσις [ἡ ψυχογονία] τῇ τῆς μουσικῆς ἀρμο-  
 νίᾳ συνεξευξήθη • ...<sup>116</sup>

¶ 4 Boethius *De musica* I,1; I,8; I,14 – *Cognitive Process: Greek–Latin–English Glossary*<sup>117</sup>:

- (1) **αἴσθησις, –εως (ἡ)** (Latin: *perceptio* • *sensum* • sense perception, sens, sense organs, five senses, sensation, exterior sense perception, sensorial intelligence, sensorial knowledge, etc.) • (2) **αἰσθητήριον, –ου (τὸ)** (Latin: *sensorium*, *perceptio* [*ars sensuum*] • faculty of sense organs, faculty of perception, sensorial faculties, etc.) • (3) **γένεσις, –εως (ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς)** (Latin: *animae generatio* • the genesis of the soul, the birth of consciousness) • (4) **γνώμη, –ης (ἡ)** (Latin: *cognitio* • cognitive process, learning process, reasoning process, faculty of the thought process, sentiment, judgement, information processing of sensations coming from within and without, etc.) •

<sup>116</sup> Illo Humphrey, “Quelques observations sur le processus cognitif chez Platon et chez Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II. Boèce...*, Vol. II: Ch. 18, p. 420-421.

<sup>117</sup> Illo Humphrey, “Quelques observations sur le processus cognitif chez Platon et chez Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II. Boèce...*, Vol. II: Ch. 18, p. 425-426.

- (5) **θυμός, –οῦ (ὁ)** (Latin: *mens* • mind, soul, conscience, consciousness, breath of life, heart of the emotions, seat of thought, sentiments, etc.) •
- (6) **νοῦς, –οῦ (ὁ)** (Latin: *mens, anima, animus, spiritus, intelligentia, ingenium* • spirit, intelligence, reason, etc.) •
- (7) **συμφωνία, –ας (ῆ)** (Latin: *consonantia, convenientia* • musical consonance) •
- (8) **φθογγή, ῆς (ῆ)** • **φθόγγος, ου (ὁ)** • **ῆ φωνή, ῆς (ῆ)** (Latin: *phthongos, sonus, vox, simplex sonus, accentus* • intonation, musical sounds of the human voice, birds, instruments) •
- (9) **ψυχή, –ῆς (ῆ)** (Latin: *anima, animus, mens, spiritus* • soul, conscience, consciousness, breath, spirit, intelligence, etc.) •
- (10) **ψυχογονία, –ας (ῆ)** (Latin: *animae generatio, anima mundi* • the genesis of the soul, the birth of the world soul, the birth of consciousness, etc.) •

¶ 5 Boethius *De institutione musica* I,1; I,14 – Glosses on the Cognitive Process:

Within the framework then of the anonymus glosses on the cognitive process, found at the beginning of the Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1 and I,14, it is useful here to propose a sample of five pertinent commentaries stemming from the family of the Carolingian *codices* mentioned above. **Nota bene:** The words in *italics* were annotated by the scribe in *tironian notes*, that is to say in Latin stenography.

(1) Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 1, lines 4, 8:

**Boethius I,1: Proemium** [sic] ... (line 4)<sup>118</sup>:

**Gloss** (9<sup>th</sup> c.): Id est *principium* rationis rei• ...

**Boethius I,1: OMNIUM QUIDEM PERCEPTIO SENSUUM ...** (line 8)<sup>119</sup>:

**Gloss** (9<sup>th</sup> c.): Quinque *sunt* sensus• ipsorum *et*• sensuum• duo *sunt* qui foris extra *corpus* sentiunt id est *uisus* et *auditus*• et duo qui intra id est *gustatus* et tactus quintus uero id est olfactus dubium est utrum intus an foris sentiat est autem sensus• uinculum *animae* et corporis• ...

<sup>118</sup> See *infra* ¶ 8 Bibliography 2: Bernhard (Michael) & Bower (Calvin M.), *Glossa*, p. 1; Humphrey (Illo)<sup>1</sup>, p. 0.

<sup>119</sup> See *infra* ¶ 8: Bernhard (Michael) & Bower (Calvin M.), *Ibid.*, p. 2; Humphrey (Illo)<sup>1</sup>, *Ibid.*, p. 1.

(2) Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 1 (right margin):

**Boethius I,1: ...quibusdam uiuentibus adest...**<sup>120</sup>

**Gloss** (9<sup>th</sup> c.): Quia quaedam sunt animalia *quae* uident *et non* audiunt• quaedam *quae* sentiunt sed non *uident* ut tapla uel uiunt arbores *et non sentiunt*

(3) Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1 (right margin), Latin 7297 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 55: (upper margin):

**Boethius I,1: ...ITA SPONTE ac naturaliter quibusdam uiuentibus adest...**<sup>121</sup>

**Gloss** (10<sup>th</sup> c.): Notandum quod cum omnis ars in ratione contineatur musica quoque in ratione numerorum consistit atque uersatur• Illud autem quod sit exterius quibusdam instrumentis imitatorium *est*

(4) Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin: 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 1v<sup>o</sup>: 11, 7297 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 55: 22

**Boethius I,1: Mundi animam musica conuenientia fuisse coniunctam...**<sup>122</sup>

**Gloss** (10<sup>th</sup> c.): id est solem uel spiritum quo omnia uiuificantur

**Gloss** (9<sup>th</sup> c.): *ut sunt* dupli• hoc est• I• II• III• VIII• tripli• *ut sunt* I• III• VIII• XXVII•

(5) Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 10v<sup>o</sup> (right margin), Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 293 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), p. 42:17 (upper margin), Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 10275 (origin: Echternach, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 11:

**Boethius I,14: Nunc quis modus audiendi sit disseramus**<sup>123</sup>

**Gloss** (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.): HIC NOTA AICTHCTHIPION [sic] [τὸ αἰσθητήριον, -ον]•

Id est custodiam *omnium* sensuum• quae primo in corde [ὁ θυμός, -οῦ] communiter continetur• inde specialiter ad omnes sensus *corporis* producitur• ut est luminosum quiddam in *oculis* quod igneam habet naturam• quiddam mobile• aerium et serenum in auribus• quid recipit formas co lo ra bi les [sic] uocum• quae fiunt ex superiore elemento igneo id est aere tenuissimo• quoddam olfactum in naribus• quod ex inferiori et crassiori aere conficitur• Gustus ex aqua Tactus• ad terram pertinet•

























<sup>120</sup> See *infra* ¶ 8: Bernhard (Michael) & Bower (Calvin M.), *Ibid.*, p. 7; Humphrey (Illo)<sup>1</sup>, *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>121</sup> See *infra* ¶ 8: Bernhard (Michael) & Bower (Calvin M.), *Ibid.*, p. 7; Humphrey (Illo)<sup>1</sup>, *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>122</sup> See *infra* ¶ 8: Bernhard (Michael) & Bower (Calvin M.), *Ibid.*, p. 27; Humphrey (Illo)<sup>1</sup>, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>123</sup> See *infra* ¶ 8: Bernhard (Michael) & Bower (Calvin M.), *Ibid.*, p. 219; Humphrey (Illo)<sup>1</sup>, *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¶ 6 *Boethius De institutione musica* I,1; I,14 – *Tironian notes. Critical Glossary*:

1.  CC :35 CNT:32,17 K-2:289 principium	2.  WCG:8 CNT:9,95 K-2:364,365 sunt	3.  CC :22v° CNT:22,18 K-2:79 corpus	4.  CC :49v° CNT:43,65 K-2:403 uisus
5.  CC :1v° CNT:1,24 K-2:367 et	6.  CC :29v° CNT:27,4 K-2:2 K-2:369 auditus	7.  CC :127 CNT:104,76 K-2:154,369 gustatus	8.  CC :29v° CNT:27,60 K-2:3 CNT:8,75a animae
9.  CC :5 CNT:3,55 K-2:310 quae	10.  CC :4v° CNT:3,7 K-2:238 non	11.  CC :26v°/14 CNT:25,40 K-2:387 CNT:15,64 uident	12.  CC :21 CNT:21,15 K-2:361 CNT:15,67 sentiunt
13.  CC :71v° CNT:61,29 K-2:303 quinque	14.  CC :22v° CNT:22,18 K-2:79 corporis	15.  CC :4 CNT:2,89 K-2:259 omnium	16.  CC :53/30v° CNT:46,38 K-2:253,167 oculis
17.  CC :29v° CNT:27,60 K-2:3 CNT:16,54 anima	18.  CC :4 CNT:2,88 K-2:250 omnia	19.  CC :143 CNT:117,46 K-2:233 MUSICA	20.  CC :30v° CNT:28,55 K-2:147 genera
21.  CC :3 CNT:2,31 K-2:325 res	22.  CC :3 CNT:2,31 K-2:312 rerum	23.  CC :2v° CNT:2,4 K-2:389 ut	24.  CC :6 CNT:4,43 K-2:114 est

© *Descriptio II* :

• Tironian notes | Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.) | Illo Humphrey | Paris, 1994 •

¶ 7 *Bibliography 1 (Latin Stenography: tironian notes)*:

- (1) CC → *Codex Cassellanus* (Kassel, *Gesamthochschule*, 2° Ms. Philol. 2): ca. 799, (St.-Amand ?); RUESS (Ferdinand) (ed.), *Die Kasseler Handschrift der tironischen Noten, samt Ergänzung aus der Wolfenbütteler Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1914 •
- (2) CNT → SCHMITZ (Wilhelm) (ed.), *Commentari notarum tironianarum*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1893 •
- (3) K-2 → KOPP (Ulrich F.), *Paleographia Critica*, vol. 2, Mannheim, 1817-1829 •
- (4) HUMPHREY (Illo), “Trois homélies attribuées à Heiric, moine de Saint-Germain d’Auxerre. Leur écriture en notes tironiennes”, in *Bulletin de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l’Yonne*, n° 13, année 1996, p. 25-46 (11 planches hors-texte) •
- (5) HELLMANN (Martin), *Tironische Noten in der Karolingerzeit, am Beispiel eines Persius-Kommentars aus der Schule von Tours*, Hanover (Hahn Verlag), 2000, XXVIII-266 pages, 12 pl., ill.; (*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Studien und Texte*, 27) •



- (6) **MUZERELLE (Denis)**, “Les notes tironiennes”, in *Le manuscrit dans tous ses états, cycle thématique 2005-2006 de l’IRHT*, S. Fellous, C. Heid, M.-H. Jullien, T. Buquet, eds., Paris, IRHT, 2006 (Ædilis, Actes, 12) [on line]: <http://aedilis.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/notes-tironiennes.htm#haut> •
- (7) **HUMPHREY (Illo)**, “La sténographie latine (notes dites tironiennes), état de la question (histoire et tradition manuscrite, transcription et édition critique, pratique)”, in *Colloquia Aquitana I – 2005. Études médiévales: Patrimoine matériel et immatériel*, (Acts Colloquia Aquitana I, held in Duras, France – 47120, August 5 and 6, 2005), Illo Humphrey (ed.), ISBN: 2-7481-4750-2, Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2006, p. 99-152 •
- (8) **POITOU (Jacques)**, “Notes tironiennes”, <http://j.poitou.free.fr/pro/html/ltn/tiron.html>, 2009 •

¶ 8 *Bibliography 2 (Glosses – Boethii De institutione musica):*

- (1) **BERNHARD (Michael) & BOWER (Calvin M.)**, *Glossa maior in institutionem musicam Boethii*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, (Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission), München, Band I, 1993, p. 1, 2, 7, 24, 219 •
- (2) **HUMPHREY (Illo)**<sup>1</sup>, *Le De institutione musica libri quinque de Boèce dans le manuscrit B.n.F., latin 7200 (IX<sup>e</sup> s.): commentaire et édition critique proto-philologique intégrale des gloses accompagnées de leurs signes de renvoi*, Thesis at the École Pratique des Hautes Études IV<sup>th</sup> Section-Sorbonne, Paris, 1994: Thèse 2 MS 319 (Vol. 1– 4), edition in preparation, see Vol. 2, p. 1, 2, 7, 58 •
- (3) **HUMPHREY (Illo)**<sup>2</sup>, “Le De institutione musica libri quinque de Boèce dans le manuscrit B.n.F., latin 7200 (IX<sup>e</sup> s.)”: Étude codicologique, étude paléographique, édition des gloses, in *Livret 11: Positions des Thèses de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études IV<sup>e</sup> Section à la Sorbonne* (Section des Sciences historiques et philologiques), Paris, 1995-1996, p. 273-275 •
- (4) [http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/BOEMUS1\\_TEXT.html](http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/BOEMUS1_TEXT.html) (ed. G. Friedlein, 1867) •
- (5) [http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/BEDMUT\\_TEXT.html](http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/BEDMUT_TEXT.html) (ed. U. Pizzani, 1980) •

¶ 9 *Notae Sententiarum* (Cross-Reference Signs | Annotation Signs) in the Glosses of Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200:

This *proto-philological* study would be incomplete without a critical edition of the *notae sententiarum*, which accompany the text and the glosses in Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), the principal manuscript. Presented here in the form of three synoptic charts, this critical edition allows for an easy reading and analysis of the selected *notae sententiarum*, whose origins are: Greek diacritical marks, tironian notes, neumatic musical notation, etc. The *notae sententiarum* and glosses of the Boethii *De institutione musica* in Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 are collated here with those in four other manuscripts of the same family, namely: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7297 [Fleury-sur-Loire – Auxerre (?)], 9<sup>th</sup> c., Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 293 (*olim* 247) [Fleury-sur-Loire (?)], 9<sup>th</sup> c., Vaticano, B.A.V., Reginensis latinus 1638 [Fleury-sur-Loire (?)], 9<sup>th</sup> c., Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 10275 (Ecternach), 11<sup>th</sup> c. A careful comparison of the *notae sententiarum* and glosses of latin 7200 with those of the 4 collated manuscripts reveals, at first glance, their close affiliation. 12 of the 33 selected *notae sententiarum* (1, 3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 31, 33) correspond to the same gloss in several of the collated manuscripts. In 9 of the 12 cases (1, 3, 9, 11, 12, 14, 23, 25, 33), the *notae sententiarum* are identical to those in the principal manuscript, and in the 3 remaining cases (13, 15, 31), they are close variants. In conclusion, this critical edition of the *notae sententiarum* in Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 is designed to favour the establishment of a reliable *stemma*, showing how a *proto-philological* study of the *notae sententiarum* can clarify the transmission of both text and glosses in the manuscript tradition of the Boethii *De institutione musica* •













**Abbreviations and References (1):** *Etymo.* = Isidori hispalensis episcopi *Etymologiarum* I,21: *Notae sentenciarum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), Paris, 1844-855 (Indices, 1862-865), Vol. 82, col. 96-98 • José Lopez de Toro = *Abreviaturas hispanicas*, Madrid, 1957, Plate XXXV • CC = *Codex cassellanus* (Kassel, Gesamthochschule, 2<sup>o</sup> Ms. philol. 2): ca. 799 St.-Amand [?]; cf. Facsimile, Ferdinand Ruess (ed.), *Die Kasseler Handschrift der tironischen Noten, samt Ergänzung aus der Wolfenbütteler Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1914 • CNT = *Commentarii notarum tironianarum*: 2 Vol., Leipzig, 1893 • K-2 = U. Kopp, *Paleographica critica*, Vol. 2: Mannheim, 1817-1829 • EC = Emile Chatelain, *Introduction à la lecture des notes tironiennes*, Paris, 1900 •

Michel Huglo, “Le nom des neumes et leur origine”, (*Études grégoriennes*, Vol. I), Solesmes, 1954, p. 53-67 • Dom Eugène Cardine, OSB, *Sémiologie grégorienne*, (*Études grégoriennes*, Vol. XI), Solesmes, 1970, p. 66-70 • Malcolm Beckwith Parkes, *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the history of punctuation in the West*, Berkeley and Los Angeles (University of California Press), 1993, xvi p. and 327 p., 74 Plates, ISBN: 0-520-07941-8, cf. p. 305 | Burlington, Vermont (Ashgate), 2008 •












**Abbreviations and Symbols (2):** PBNL = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Fonds latin • ORL. B.M. = Orléans Bibliothèque municipale • VAT. REG. = Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis • t = text • g = gloss • f. = folio • p. = page • (mg/msdr) = same gloss / same cross-reference sign • (sdr) / (+/-) = same gloss / cross-reference sign more or less similar • MD = (right margin) • MS = (left margin) • SUP = (upper margin) • INF = (lower margin) • N.T. = *nota tironiana* • G.T. = *graphis tironiana* • mm = millimeters •









**Hands (Scribes):** 0 = 9<sup>th</sup> c. • 1 = 9<sup>th</sup> c. • 1<sup>l</sup> = 9<sup>th</sup> c. • 2 = 10<sup>th</sup> c. • 3 = 11<sup>th</sup> c. •  
 © **Calligraphy :** Illo Humphrey, cf. *Le De institutione musica libri quinque de Boèce dans le manuscrit B.n.F., latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.): commentaire et édition critique proto-philologique intégrale*, École Pratique des Hautes Études IV<sup>th</sup> Section-Sorbonne, Paris, 1994 (edition in preparation), Vol. 1, p. 29-31, Vol. 4, Pl. 26a-27a •

¶10 *Notae Sententiarum* (*Signes de renvoi | Annotation Signs*) – *Proto-Philological Critical Edition based on the Manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), Boethii De institutione musica libri quinque, f. 1r<sup>o</sup> - f. 85v<sup>o</sup>:*

<i>Notae sententiarum</i> (Signs):	Name, Origin, Typology:	Lat. 7200 f. : l.:	Boethius (text) Incipit (gloss)	Hand (scribe):	Collated mss:	Size:
(BnF Lat. 7200):						
1. 	Isidori, <u>Etymo.</u> I,21:3 "Obelus" (?) Cf. López de TORO, Abreviaturas: Pl.35	1 : 10 1 : MD	uiuentibus(t) Viuens (g)	0 2	PBNL 7297 55:4 =(ñg/ñsdr)	3 mm
2. 	Isidori, <u>Etymo.</u> I,21:5 "Limniscus" Cf. MIGNE, (P.L.)	1 : 10 1 : MD	adest (t) uel simul (g)	0 2		3 mm
3. 	Isidori, <u>Etymo.</u> I,21:3 "Obelus" (?) "Paragraphus" Cf. López de TORO	1 : 14 1 : MD	natura (t) Quaedam (g) sunt	0 1	PBNL 7297 55:7 =(ñg/ñsdr)	4 mm
4. 	3 Puncta diagonalia, "Limniscus"	1 : 17 1 : MS	probabilius (g) Nam (g) proximiora	0 1		3 mm 4 mm
5. 	Neuma "Quilisma-Flexus" Notatio gallica	2 : 12 2 : 15	Id est non (g) Fuit uero (t)	1 0		6 mm
6. 	"z" (Alphabetum Wisig.) N.T.(-nus) CC : 17 CNT:17,80 K-2:247	2 : 16 2 : 18(MD)	turpitudinem(t) Non quod (g)	0 1		5 mm
7. 	N.T.(-us) CC/CNT: Ø K-2:331	3 : 6 3 : MD	chromaticum(t) chromaticum (g)	0 3		2,5 mm
Bis. 	N.T.(-mam) CC:13v/CNT:15,11	3 : 19 3 : 19(MS)	aliis(N.T.) (g) aliis (g)	1 2		2 mm
8. 	Signum Interpunctionis "Quilisma" (interrogatio uel percentatio)	3v <sup>o</sup> : 14 3v <sup>o</sup> : MS	Democritus (t) Democritus (g)	0 1		4 mm
9. 	Isidori, <u>Etymo.</u> I,21:5 "Limniscus"	3v <sup>o</sup> : 14 3v <sup>o</sup> : MS	Hippocrati (t) Hippocrites (g)	0 1	ORL.B.M. 293(247) p.34:12(MS) =(ñg/ñsdr)	2 mm
10. 	Th:littera gr. (Thita = 9/9000)	4v <sup>o</sup> : 3 4v <sup>o</sup> : MS	Secunda (t) Et prima (g) quidem mundana est	0 0		3 mm
11. 	G.T.(Omnis) CC : 4 CNT:2,87 K-2:249	4v <sup>o</sup> : 5 4v <sup>o</sup> : MS	mundana (t) propter (g)	0 1	PBNL 7297 56v <sup>o</sup> :10,11 =(ñg/ñsdr)	3 mm

© *Descriptio* III: *Notae Sententiarum*, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.),  
• Illo Humphrey | Paris | September, 1990 •

Notae sententiarum (Signs):	Name, Origin, Typology:	Lat. 7200 f. : l.:	Boethius (text) Incipit (gloss) (scribe): (Lat. 7200):	Hand (scribe):	Collated mss:	Size:
12. 	"Quilisma" (interrogatio) uel (percontatio)	4v° : 6 4v° : MS	elementorum(t) Ut est (g)	0 1	ORL. B.M. 293 (247) 35:14 =(âg/âsdr)	6 mm
13. 	G.T. (Am-) CC : 14v° CNT: 16, 12 K-2: 22 (Amen)	4v° : 6 4v° : SUP	temporum (t) Quattuor (g) anni	0 1	Ibidem 35:14 (h) =(sdr)/(+/-)	3,5 mm
14. 	Crux	4v° : 8 4v° : Inf	aures (t) Plinius (g)	0 1'	Ibidem 35:15 =(âg/âsdr)	3 mm
15. 	N.T. (Alicunde) CC : 20v° CNT: 20, 75 K-2: 13	4v° : 11 4v° : MS	conpaginatum(t) Dum musica (g)	0 1	Ibidem 35:17 (ho) =(sdr)/(+/-)	6 mm
16. 	"Quilisma" (interrogatio) uel (percontatio)	5 : 10 5 : MD	uiuacitatem (t) haec est (g) uiuacitas	0 1		8 mm
17. 	M: littera gr. (My = 40/40000)	5 : 13 5 : MD	partes animi(t) partes animę(g)	0 1		5 mm
18. 	N.T. (Cor) CC : 50v° CNT: 44, 54 K-2: 51	5v° : 3 5v° : MS	Pulsus uero (t) primum motus(g)	0 1		2 mm
19. 	N.T. (-mam) CC : 13v° CNT: 15, 11 K-2: 410	6 : 8 6 : MS	additione (t) addicere est(g) tradere	0 2		2 mm
20. 	N.T. (Una/Va/Za) CC : 7 CNT: 5, 86 K-2: 390/408 EC : 149	7 : 5 7 : MS	quando numerus (t) maior (g) numerus minorem	0 1		2,5 mm
21. 	Neuma "Trigon" Notatio Sangallensis	7v° : 1 7v° : MS	discreta (t) uel finita (g)	0 1		2 mm
22. 	"Quilisma" (interrogatio) uel (percontatio)	7v° : 4 7v° : MS	continua (t) ut •VIII• (g)	0 1		6 mm

<i>Notae sententiarum</i> (Signs):	Name, Origin, Typology:	Lat. 7200 f. : l.:	Boethius (text) Incipit (gloss) (scribe): mss: (BnF Lat. 7200):	Hand Collated	Size:
23. 	Th:littera gr. (Thita = 9/9000)	7v° : 9 7v° : MS	superparti- cularitas (t) Nam quamuis (g)	0 1	PBNL 7297, F°57v°:22; PBNL 10275, F°7r°:10; VAT. REG., 1638, F°8:8-11(MD) =(m̄g/m̄sdr) 3 mm
24. :	N.T.(-im) CC :14 CNT:15,70 K-2:410	8 : 6 8 : MD	in duplici (t) In omnibus (g)	0 1	2 mm
25. 	Isidori, Etymo.I,21:4 "Obelus superne"	8 : 10 8 : MD	diapason (t) uel diplasia (g)	0 1	PBNL 7297 58:4 =(m̄g/m̄sdr) 2 mm
26. 	N.T.(solidum) CC :107v° CNT:89,65 K-2:339	8v° : 10 8v° : MS	itinere (t) Medio (g)	0 1	4,5 mm
27. 	Isidori, Etymo.I,21:5 "Limniscus"	8v° : 13 8v° : MD	consonantiae (t) Diuidicant (g)	0 1	3 mm
Bis. ::	"Trigon"	8v° : 18 8v° : MS	aequaliter (g) Inde dixit (g)	1' 1'	2 mm
28. ::	"Trigon" Notatio Sangallensis	8v° : 19 8v° : MD	paruitatem (t) ut sunt (g) subtilissimae	0 1	2 mm
29. 	Neuma (?) "Fes" (?) Notatio Laudunensis(?)	8v° : 23 8v° : MS	Pythagoras (t) Rationem et (g) minucias	0 2	4,5 mm
30. 	Isidori, Etymo.I,21:5 "Limniscus"	9 : 2 9 : MD	natura (t) Duae sunt (g) naturae	0 1	4 mm
31. .	N.T.(-mam) CC :13v° CNT:15,11 K-2:410	9v° : 8 9v° : MS	uergebant (t) passius pro- (g) tulit	0 1	Nota bene: Cf. VAT. REG., 1638, F°10v°: 1.1(MS) = . Cf. PBNL 7297, F°58v°:15-16 (MS) = . =(sdr)/(+/-) 2 mm
32. 	Neuma "Ancus" (Climacus liquidus) Notatio Sangallensis	10: 22 10: MD	cantilenam (t) qua decur- (g) rimus	0 0	9,5 mm
33. 	Th:littera gr. (Thita = 9/9000)	10v° : 9 10v° : MS	audiendi sit (t) Hic nota (g)	0 1	=(m̄g/m̄sdr) ORL.B.M. 293(247) 42:12 3,5 mm

© Descriptio III: *Notae Sententiarum*, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.),  
• Illo Humphrey | Paris | September, 1990 •

### Observations on the Cognitive Process in the Boethii *De institutione musica*

The above *proto-philological* study, based principally on the 9<sup>th</sup>-century Carolingian manuscript tradition of the Boethii *De musica* I,1, is designed firstly to accompany the reader back to the hypothetical original Greek version of the *Μουσική εἰσαγωγή* by Nikómachos o Gerasinós, now lost, and secondly, to draw his or her attention to the underlying Greek word-concepts pertaining to *cognitio*. Thirdly, this study is designed to show to what extent both masters and pupils of the first generations of the new Carolingian branch of general culture had fully assimilated the research of Boethius on the cognitive process. Finally, this study on *cognitio* and its related fields allows us to better understand the σκοπός and complexity of the tridisciplinary treatise: Boethii *De institutione musica*, and its influence on European general culture as of the 8<sup>th</sup> century down to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Indeed, the concept of *cognitio*, intimately related to the concept of number (*substantia numeri*), and of musical sound (ἁρμονία), continues to stimulate interdisciplinary research and reflection by some of the leading therapists<sup>124</sup>, educators<sup>125</sup>,

<sup>124</sup> Beck (Aaron T.), *Cognitive therapy and the emotional disorders*, International Universities Press, New York, 1976; Beck (Aaron T.), Rush (A. J.), Shaw (B. F.), Emery (G.), *Cognitive therapy of depression*, Guilford Press, New York, 1979; Beck (Judith), *Cognitive Therapy: Basics and Beyond*, New York, 1995, published in extenso on line: [http://www.amazon.com/gp/reader/0898628474/ref=sib\\_dp\\_pt/002-7089376-4219268#reader-link](http://www.amazon.com/gp/reader/0898628474/ref=sib_dp_pt/002-7089376-4219268#reader-link); Cottraux (Jean), *Les thérapies comportementales et cognitives*, Paris (Masson), 2001; Blackburn (Ivy Marie) & Cottraux (Jean), *Thérapie cognitive de la dépression*, Paris (Masson), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition revised, 2001; Hung (Marc), “Thérapies comportementales et cognitives”, in *La revue du Praticien. Médecine générale*, t. 18, n° 664/665, 11 octobre 2004; Martens (M. A.), Wilson (S. J.), Reutens (D. C.), “Research Review: Williams syndrome: a critical review of the cognitive, behavioral, and neuroanatomical phenotype”, in *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and allied disciplines* 49 (6), 2008, p. 576–608.

<sup>125</sup> Jean William Fritz Piaget (1896-1980), *Introduction à l'épistémologie génétique*. Tome I: *La pensée mathématique*; Tome II: *La pensée physique*; Tome III: *La pensée biologique, la pensée psychologique et la pensée sociale*, Paris (PUF = Presses universitaires de France), 1950; Lev Semenovitch Vygotsky (1896-1934), *Thought and language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1962 [sic]; Idem, *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*, Cambridge, MA (Harvard University Press), 1978 [sic]; Laura E. Berk, *Infants, Children, and Adolescents*, cf. Ch. 9: *Cognitive Development in early Childhood*, Allyn & Bacon, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., 2008.

mediævalists<sup>126</sup>, musicologists<sup>127</sup>, philosophers<sup>128</sup> of the present day, and continues to stimulate the fundamentele research of Plato (Timaios 35 36) and of Boethius (*De institutione musica libri quinque* I,1) on the delicate and complex question of the origine and structure of the tripartite concept of soul-consciousness-conscience.




---

## CHAPTER 6: BOETHIUS AND AURELIUS REOMENSIS

---



---

<sup>126</sup> Illo Humphrey, “Quelques observations sur le processus cognitif chez Platon et chez Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006: Boèce : l’homme, le philosophe*,..., Paris, 2009, Volume II, Chapitre 18, p. 414-424.

<sup>127</sup> W. F. Thompson, *Music, Thought, and Feeling: Understanding the Psychology of Music*, New York, 2009.

<sup>128</sup> Iégor Reznikoff, “L’âme est-elle sonore ? Mythe ou réalité”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II, Boèce*..., Paris, 2009, Vol. II, Ch. 19, p. 441-461; *Idem*, “On primitive elements of musical meaning”, in *JMM (The Journal of Music and Meaning)*, Refereed on-line *Journal of Music and Meaning* (ISSN: 1603-7170), 3, Fall 2004/Winter 2005, Section 2: <http://www.musicandmeaning.net/issues/showArticle.php?artID=3.2>.



## CHAPTER 6

## BOETHIUS and Aurelianus Reomensis (ca. 840-ca. 850)

The *Musica disciplina* [capitula XX]<sup>129</sup> of Aurelianus Reomensis<sup>130</sup>, written approximately between the year 840 et 850, is the first known

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Valenciennes (France-59300), Bibliothèque municipale 148 (*olim* 133), end of 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 57v<sup>o</sup>; M. Gerbert (ed.), *Scriptores...*, 1784, vol. I, p. 31-a and 31-b; L. A. Gushee (ed.), Yale, 1962 = (*CSM* 21, 1975); *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*: [http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/AURMUS\\_TEXT.html](http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/AURMUS_TEXT.html); M. Gerbert (ed.), 1784; *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*: [http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/AURMUSD\\_TEXT.html](http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/AURMUSD_TEXT.html); J. Perry (ed.), 1961; *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*: [http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/AURMD\\_TEXT.html](http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/AURMD_TEXT.html); L. Gushee (ed.), 1975.

<sup>130</sup> Aurelianus Reomensis is known to us by his treatise *Musica disciplina* [capitula XX], which he wrote in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, presumably in the northern part of *Neustria* (Northern France, Southern Belgium), between the years 840 et 850. His birth place is yet unknown, perhaps in the region of Saint-Amand-en-Pévèle (Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, Department: Nord 59230, in the district of Valenciennes, administrative seat of the district, between the two rivers: Scarpe and Elnone). Divergent opinions exist concerning his schooling, according to Yves Chartier, he received his training as *musicus* at the imperial monastery of Elnone, that is to say the monastery of Saint-Amand, founded by the missionary saint Amandus in 639, then according to Jane Bellingham et Barbara Haggh, he received his training at the monastery Saint-Jean of Réôme, situated in France in the diocese of Langres, Department: Marne 52200, administrative seat of the district. Excerpts of the *Musica disciplina* II,12,14-19 appear in the glosses of the three following manuscripts: cf. Vaticano, BAV Reginensis latinus 1638, f. 10v<sup>o</sup> (left margin), 9<sup>th</sup> century, Fleury [?], cf. Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7297, f. 58v<sup>o</sup>: lignes 14-17 (right margin), and lignes 17-31 (mg), end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Fleury [?], with French neumatic musical notation of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Chicago, Newberry Library, F. 9, f. 6r<sup>o</sup> (md), end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, glosses du 11<sup>th</sup> century, with 11<sup>th</sup> century neumatic musical notation of Sankt Gallen. The *Musica disciplina* is akin to the tradition of the tonary; the first known tonary being conserved in the 8<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript called the "Psalter of Charlemagne", Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 13159, f. 167r<sup>o</sup> à f. 167v<sup>o</sup>, written in monastery of Corbie (France, La Somme, Region of Picardie, 80800) for the imperial monastery Saint-Riquier (France, La Somme, Region of Picardie, 80135) around the year 795.

**Bibliographie:** Michael Bernhard and Calvin Bower., *Glossa maior...*, vol. I, p. LXXIII-LXXV, 199-201, glosses: 143, 146, 151, 153; Illo Humphrey, *Le De institutione musica libri quinque de Boèce dans le manuscrit B.n.F., latin 7200 (IX<sup>e</sup> s.): commentaire et édition critique proto-philologique intégrale des gloses accompagnées de leurs signes de renvoi*, Thesis at the École Pratique des Hautes

major 9th-century independent Carolingian treatise on *ars musica*. This work, as can be expected, is strongly influenced by the Boethii *De institutione musica*, and also, to a lesser degree, by the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica*. In contrast however to the *De musica* of Boethius, the author introduces four musical examples taken from the still oral tradition of the “Gregorian” Chant repertoire. The four musical examples are inserted into the text in order to illustrate with precision the basic consonances and intervals about which Boethius writes in his *De musica* I, 10<sup>131</sup>, namely: the *perfect octave* (“*diapason in duplo concinentiam*”), the *perfect fourth* (“*diatesseron consonantia*”), the *perfect fifth* (“*diapente consonantiam permiscebant*”), the *perfect whole tone or major second* (“*in sesquioctava proportionem resonabant tonum*”). These musical examples, taken from four Introit anthems of the Proper Mass of the liturgical year, were universally-known by all, and were therefore ideal pedagogical tools for explaining acoustically the formation of musical consonances and intervals.

---

Études IV<sup>th</sup> Section-Sorbonne, Paris, 1994: 2 MS 319 (1-4), vol. II, p. 54-ter, Illo Humphrey, *De institutione arithmetica et De institutione musica de Boèce dans l'enseignement scientifique et philosophique du Haut Moyen âge en Neustrie. Édition d'un manuscrit du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, B. n. F., latin 14064), texte et gloses, Ph. D. Thesis, Université de Paris X – Nanterre, March 26, 2004, Fichier Central des Thèses [Central Doctoral Dissertation File of French Universities]: 9413058J, vol. I, chapter 6, p. 124-127; Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires*, Paris, 1971, p. 25-29, 47-55; Yves Chartier, *L'œuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand*, Québec, 1995, p. 43, 44, 90; Jane Bellingham, *The Development of musical Thought in the medieval West from late Antiquity to the Mid-ninth Century*, D. Phil. Thesis: Christ Church, University of Oxford, 1998, voir chapitre VI, p. 197-229; Jane Bellingham, “Aurelian of Réôme”, in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2001, vol. 2, p. 185-187; Barbara Haggh, “Aurelian’s Library”, in *Cantus Planus*, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest: Institute for Musicology, 2001, p. 271-300.

<sup>131</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* II,54: “De maxima et perfecta symphonia quæ tribus distenditur; G. Friedlein, p. 168, J.-Y. Guillaumin, p. 173, I. Humphrey, p. 186; Boethii *De institutione musica* I,10: Quemadmodum Pythagoras proportionem consonantiarum investigaverit; G. Friedlein, p. 197-198; C. Bower, p. 19; C. Meyer, p. 46-51, cf. *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*: [http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/BOEMUS1\\_TEXT.html](http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/BOEMUS1_TEXT.html).

The *Musica disciplina* [capitula XX] contains twenty chapters which borrow heavily from Boethius; among the representative borrowings, are those of *Musica disciplina* II,12,14-19. These passages highlight the teachings of Boethius on the “*quattuor termini*”: •VI•VIII•VIII•XII•, laid out firstly in the last chapter of the second and last book of his *De institutione arithmetica* II,54, then in his *De institutione musica* I,10<sup>132</sup>. In *Musica disciplina* II,12,14-19, Aurelianus explains the formation of the three fundamental musical proportions and consonances, namely: the *perfect fourth* (•VI → VIII• *continua proportio sesquitercia*:  $4 \div 3 =$  an absolute proportion of  $1 \rightarrow 1,33333333...$ ), the *perfect fifth* (•VI → VIII• *continua proportio sesqui[i]altera*:  $3 \div 2 =$  an absolute proportion of  $1 \rightarrow 1,5$ ), the *perfect octave* (•VI → XII• *continua proportio sesquiprima*:  $2 \div 1 =$  an absolute proportion of  $1 \rightarrow 2$ ), and that of the “*emmelis*”<sup>133</sup>, that is to say the *perfect whole tone* or the *perfect major second* (•VIII → VIII• *continua proportio sesquioctava*:  $9 \div 8 =$  an absolute proportion of  $1 \rightarrow 1,125$ ), using as pedagogical examples four melodies taken from the year in, year out oral tradition of “Gregorian” Chant.

These four musical examples, listed here in their musicological, liturgical, biblical, and hagiographical context, are as follows:

**1<sup>st</sup> Musical example:** “*Inclina domine [aurem tuam]*”: “*Incline, O Lord, thine ear unto me*”, Introit anthem, 1<sup>st</sup> mode, protus authenticus, Psalm 85 (Vulgate Bible): 1-4.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Dom René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex*, Brussels (Vromant & Cie.), 1935, n°

<sup>132</sup> Illo Humphrey, Boethius *De institutione arithmetica libri duo...*, p. 187: line 15 (Paris, Bnf, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> century, f. 81v<sup>o</sup>: line 15).

<sup>133</sup> “*Emmelis* [ἐμμελής, ἦς, ἑς, pl. εῖς] *autem sunt• quaecunque consonae quidem non sunt• possunt aptari tamen recte ad melos• ut sunt hae• quae consonantias iungunt*” (“*emmelis are suitable for melody, but are not themselves consonances, they join together musical consonances*”; Boethii *De musica* V,11); Boethii *De musica*, I,8: Quid sit sonus, quid intervallum, quid consonantia; V,6: Quae uoces armonicae sint aptae; V,11: Quibus modis Ptolomaeus consonantias statuat; V,12: Quae sint aequisonae• quae consonae• quae emmelis.

187, Manuscripts:  $\lambda B \lambda K S$ <sup>134</sup>; *Missale romanum, ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini restitutum summorum pontificum cura recognitum*, Ratisbonae [Regensburg, Germany], 1964, p. 314: Hebdomada XV post Pentecosten [15<sup>th</sup> Week after Pentecoste Sunday]; *Graduale triplex, seu Graduale romanum Pauli pp. VI cura recognitum & rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus monachis ornatum neumis laudunensibus (codicis 239) et sangallensibus (codicum Sangallensis 359 et Einsidlensis 121) nunc auctum*, Solesmes, 1979, p. 326. This musical example illustrates the consonance of “diapason in duplo concinentiam”, that is to say the *perfect octave*.

**2<sup>nd</sup> Musical example:** “*Confessio et pulchritudo*”: “*Acknowledgement and beauty*”, Introit anthem, 3<sup>rd</sup> mode, deuterus authenticus, Psalm 95 (Vulgate Bible): 6, 1.

---

<sup>134</sup> The *sigla* M-R-B-C-K-S, along with the Greek letter lambda ( $\lambda$ ), represent the six oldest known *codices* containing the repertoire of the Proper “Gregorian” Mass for the entire liturgical year.

**M** represents the Cantatorium of Monza [Lombardia 20052 Italy] (second third of the 9<sup>th</sup> century: Tesoro del Duomo di Monza | Codex CIX) •

**R** represents the Gradual of Rheinau [Zürich 8462 Switzerland] (around the year 800: CH-Zentralbibliothek Zürich | Rheinau Codex 30) •

**B** represents the Gradual of Mont-Blandin [East Flanders 9000 Ghent, Belgium] (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.: Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup> Codex latin 10127-44) •

**C** represents the Gradual of Compiègne [Oise 60200 France] (second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 17436) •

**K** represents the Gradual of Corbie [Somme 80800 France] (after 853: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 12050) •

**S** represents the Sacramentary-Gradual of Senlis [Oise 60300 France] (*ca.* 880: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Codex 111) •

$\lambda$  (lambda) indicates *lacunae* in one or more of the six collated manuscripts •

The above *sigla* are based on the research of the Abbey Saint-Pierre of Solesmes (72300 Sablé-sur-Sarthe, France), see Dom René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, Bruxelles, 1935; these *sigla* are also indicated in the *Graduale triplex*: Avant-Propos~Vorwort~Forward, Solesmes, 1979.

**Nota bene:** It is useful to know that these six collated manuscripts **M-R-B-C-K-S** contain only the literary texts of the Proper “Gregorian” Mass, that is to say they do not contain any neumatic musical notation. The oldest known musical notations are attested, so it seems, in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; see, for example, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, manuscrit 239, 9<sup>th</sup> century, a Gradual with neumatic notation of Laon; see facsimile in *Paléographie musicale*, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, Volume 10, *Antiphonale missarum Sancti Gregorii*, Tournai, 1909, Solesmes, 1992.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex*, n° 44, Manuscripts: BCKS; *Missale romanum*, p. 77 / p. 676 → 10 Augusti festo s. Laurenti, diaconi et martyris [August 10, Feast of Saint Lawrence, deacon and martyr]; *Graduale triplex*, p. 586. This musical example illustrates the consonance of “*diatesseron consonantia*”, that is to say the *perfect fourth*.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Musical example:** “*Circumdederunt [me gemitus mortis]*”: “*The pangs of death encompassed me round about*”, Introit anthem, 5<sup>th</sup> mode, tritus authenticus, Psalm 17 (Vulgate Bible): 5, 2, 3.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex*, n° 34, Manuscripts: RBCKS; *Missale romanum*, p. 54 → Dominica in Septuagesima [Sunday, the 70<sup>th</sup> Day before Easter]; *Graduale triplex*, p. 117. This musical example illustrates the *emmelis* “*in sesquioctava proportionem resonabant tonum*”, that is to say the *perfect whole tone* or *major second*.

**4<sup>th</sup> Musical example:** “*Puer natus est [nobis]*”: “*For unto us a child is born*”, Introit anthem, 7<sup>th</sup> mode, tetrardus authenticus, Isaiah 9: 6, verse: Psalm 97 (Vulgate Bible): 1.

**BIBLIOGRAPHIE:** Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex*, n° 11-a, Manuscripts: RBCKS; *Missale romanum*, p. 23 → In Die Nativitatis Domini [Christmas Day], *Graduale triplex*, p. 47 (Ad Missam in die = The Mass of the day). This musical example illustrates the consonance of “*diapente consonantiam permiscebant*”, that is to say the *perfect fifth*.

### Observations on the Musica Disciplina of Aurelianus Reomensis

The *Musica Disciplina* of Aurelianus Reomensis, a milestone in the new Carolingian branch of general culture, marks a turning point in the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*. This treatise on the philosophy of Music, all while remaining faithful to the basic Boethian theory of *ars musica*, distinguishes itself from the said by introducing musical examples taken directly from the liturgical musical practices known to all, indicating thus a definitive cultural and pedagogical shift from the very theoretical *ars musica* of Greco-Roman Antiquity to a more practical *ars musica* of the European Middle Ages.

---

**CHAPTER 7: BOETHIUS AND HUCBALDUS ELNONENSIS**

---

## CHAPTER 7

### BOETHIUS

#### and Hucbaldus Elnonensis (\*840-†930)

(The musical notation of Hucbald of Saint-Amand in perspective)

- Hucbaldi *De musica* ¶ 47 • M. Gerbert (ed.), vol. I, p. 118b • Y. Chartier (ed.), p. 198 •  
(cf. Cambridge, University Library, Gg. V. 35, *Sigla*: A<sup>1</sup> / A<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> c., f. 271r<sup>o</sup>)

“Sunt igitur notae quidem chordarum plurimae antiquitatis usui habitae• quae et a Boetio per singulos octo modos binae singulis chordis appositae• in •CCLXXXVIII• tenduntur• eadem quoque grecis quibusdam litteris rectis• quibusdam uarie immutatis expressae• plurimum paginae uidentur spatium occupare; Vnde in praesenti eas tantum quae sunt lidii modi assumimus• quasdam supernas• quasdam subteriacentes• et has prout strictius fieri potuit decurtatas• quae scilicet breuius atque succinctius possint affigi• easque usui praesentium putamus sufficere •”

#### English Translation:

“There are numerous notes corresponding to the musical pitches of the [two-octave diatonic unchangable scale [τὸ ἀμετάβολον Σύστημα (*to ametabolon Systima*)]<sup>135</sup>, in habitual use in Antiquity, which were apposed by Boethius in pairs<sup>136</sup> at each pitch of each of the eight modes<sup>137</sup> of the said Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον (*Systima ametabolon*); this was done in such a way that the entire number of notes cover 144 + 144 graphic signs, certain of which are Greek letters in their normal position, and others are variants in rotation of the same Greek letters, all of which could fill up the space of numerous pages. Albeit, for the needs of the present treatise, we

<sup>135</sup> “τὸ ἀμετάβολον Σύστημα” is a system of musical scales which covers two octaves, having 18 graphical signs and 16 musical pitches. As the Ragas of India, the Greek modes are descending scales, which read from the highest note (nete hyperboleon) to the lowest note (proslambanomenos), see *Descriptio* VI and *Descriptio* VII.

<sup>136</sup> See *Descriptio* VI. These modes are presented in double notation: the notation on the left is for vocal music, and the notation on the right for instrumental music. As mentioned above, these are descending modes, and are to be read from the highest pitch to the lowest pitch.

<sup>137</sup> See *Descriptio* VI, which shows the eight modes with their eighteen pairs of graphical signs, according to Boethii *De institutione musica* IV,3 and IV,16.

will use only the notes of the *lydian* mode<sup>138</sup>, some in their normal position, some laid down position, in order that they may be truncated in a more precise manner, and that they may be more adaptable, taking up less space. Finally, for the needs of this treatise, we think the modified graphic signs which we propose here will lagrely suffice”.

This excerpt from Hucbald’s *De musica* gives a clear explanation of his new musical notation based on the ancient Greek notation of Alypius, notation which Boethius transmitted in his *De institutione musica libri quinque* Book III. Before studying this notation, we shall consider briefly the life and the career of Hucbald, *scolasticus*, *musicus*, *præcentor*, *armarius*, *custos armarii*, *philosophus*.

### Hucbaldus Elnonensis • Historical Perspective

Hucbaldus Elnonensis (Hucbald of Saint-Amand, \*ca. 840 - †930)<sup>139</sup>, belonged to a family of nobility, closely akin, so it seems, to the

<sup>138</sup> The 2 octaves of the *lydian* mode are: **D<sup>2</sup>, C, B-flat, A, G, F, E, E-flat • D<sup>1</sup>, C, B-flat, A, G, F, E, E-flat, D<sup>0</sup>**.

<sup>139</sup> Hucbaldus Elnonensis (Hucbald of Saint-Amand) was born around 840, he was successively the Headmaster at Saint-Amand in 872, at Saint-Bertin in 883, at the cathedral school in Rheims in 893, he died in Saint-Amand around 930. The monastery of Saint-Amand was founded around 639 by the Aquitanian monk Amandus (†661), and richly endowed, so it seems, by the King Dagobert I (ca. 600, King of Neustria in 628, †the 8<sup>th</sup> of April, 639). Called Saint-Stephen Monastery from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, then Saint-Amand as of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the monastery is situated in the forest of Pévèle and Vicoigne, which explains the name Saint-Amand-en-Pévèle. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century Saint-Amand was a part of the diocese of Tournai, Belgium, today, however in France, it is the town of Saint-Amand-des-Eaux (Saint-Amand-of-the-Waters), Department of the Nord, 59230, in the district of Valenciennes, the administrative seat of the Canton, near the rivers Scarpe and Elnone, affluents of the river Escaut. Hucbald was born around 840, and died “*duodecimo kalendas Iulii obitus Hucboldi philosophi anno• DCCCC° XXX°• feria I*”: the 12<sup>th</sup> of the Calends of July [i.e. June 20<sup>th</sup>], *Hucbald the philosopher died in the year 930, the first day of the week* [i.e. Sunday], according to the *Annales Elnonenses minores*: cf. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 174 (*olim* 166), 10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 36, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH, Scriptores*, t. V, p. 20, and the *Annales Elnonenses maiores*: cf. Valenciennes, B. m., ms. 343 (*olim* 330-bis), 10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 45v°, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH, Scriptores*, t. V, p. 12, “*DCCCCXXX• Obiit Hucboldus philosophus*”; cf. H. Müller, *Hucbalds echte und unechte Schriften über Musik*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 44-48; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 1 et p. 277: notes 3 and 4. Other dates (929, 931, 932) were also proposed in the different chronicles between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> century, albeit, the indication of “*feria prima*” (first day of the week), specified in



Carolingian lineage as of Louis the Pious<sup>140</sup>. His first teacher, according to the testimony of Gonthier of Saint-Amand (†1108), was non other than his own uncle the School Master Milo of Saint-Amand (†872)<sup>141</sup>, who gave him his first initiation into the sevenfold canon of the *liberal arts*, and especially the *quattuor matheseos disciplinae*, that is to say the *quadrivium*<sup>142</sup>. He was said to have sojourned in Nevers (France-58000, Burgundy, Nièvre), from whence he was supposed to have brought back the *reliquae* (sacred remains) of Saint Cyricus (†304, Feast Day, June

---

the *Annales Elnonenses minores*, excludes all other years but 930; indeed, that year, the 20<sup>th</sup> of June fell on a Sunday, cf. H. Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, 12<sup>th</sup> edition, J. Asch, Hannover, 1982, p. 134-135; on Saint-Amand, cf. <http://www.mgh.de/da/rezensionen/band52.1/0024.html>; [http://musicologie.free.fr/Bibliographies/chartier/sainte\\_eulali.html](http://musicologie.free.fr/Bibliographies/chartier/sainte_eulali.html).

<sup>140</sup> Hucbald's filiation with the Carolingian nobility came through Ewrad, Comte of Frioul (Latin: Forum Iulii, Italian: Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Northeastern Italy, Region of Veneto, Province of Treviso), who died in 867 at the Castle of Musiestro, leaving an important testament. His spouse Gisela (†after 877), was the daughter of Emperor Louis the Pious (†840), whose 4<sup>th</sup> daughter and 9<sup>th</sup> child Heilewich or "Heloise" or "Edwige" (†after 895) married Hucbold Comte of Ostrevant (†after 890), who, seemingly, were the parents of Hucbald, cf. É. Favre, "La famille d'Évrard, marquis de Frioul, dans le royaume de l'Ouest", in *Études d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod*, Paris, 1896, p. 155-162; Ph. Grierson, "La maison d'Évrard de Frioul et les origines du comté de Flandre", in *Revue du Nord* n° 24, 1938, 241-266; Idem, "L'origine des comtes d'Amiens, Valois et Vexin", in *Le Moyen Âge* n° 49, 1939, p. 97; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 2-4; on the testament of Ewrad, cf. A. Miraeus, *Codex donationum piarum*, Bruxelles, 1624, p. 94; I. de Coussemaker, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing et ses dépendances*, Paris, 1883, p. 1-5; A. Wilmart, "Le psautier de la Reine n. XI", in *Revue bénédictine*, 28<sup>th</sup> year, 1911, p. 341-376, see p. 365-369.

<sup>141</sup> Gonthier of Saint-Amand, *Translatio s. Cyrici*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. Migne, Vol. 203, col. 1309: "Denique inibi uigebat studio quisquam sapiens nomine Milo• qui quib aliis scholarum nepotem suum fouebat Hucbaldum• liberalium artium emolumento•"; L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, t. II, Paris, 1874, p. 311; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 5, 280: n. 22, 26. The death of Milo occurred around the year 872: "*Obitus Milonis. Anno Domino DCCCLXXII*": cf. Valenciennes, B. m., ms. 174 (*olim* 166), f. 38; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 8, 283: n. 38.

<sup>142</sup> *Artes liberales: Quadrivium* or *Quadrivium* (*ars arithmetica, ars musica, ars geometrica, ars astronomica*), and *Trivium* (*ars grammatica, ars dialectica, ars rhetorica*); Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De oratore* I,3,11; Aurelius Augustinus (St. Augustine), \*a. D. 354 – †430, *De ordine* II,7: 24, II,8: 25; Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica* I,1, I. Humphrey (ed.), p. 29 = Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 3; Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux...*, p. 101-155.

16)<sup>143</sup>, further, he was said to have sejournd in Auxerre, where he was supposed to have studied under Heiricus Autissiodorensis (Heiric of Auxerre, †ca. 875-883)<sup>144</sup> along with his fellow contemporary Remigius Autissiodorensis (Remigius of Auxerre, †ca. 908)<sup>145</sup>; both assumptions seem to be unfounded, having been seriously questioned by critical research<sup>146</sup>. What is more plausible, however, is the hypothesis of his sojourn of study between the years 870 and 883 in the imperial school of the Cathedral of Laon, where he could very well have studied under Martinus Hiberniensis<sup>147</sup> and Iohannes Scottus Eriugena (†after 877)<sup>148</sup>,

<sup>143</sup> Gonthier de Saint-Amand, *Translatio s. Cyrici* [Kírykos | Quiricus | Cyr, etc., Child Saint: †304], *P. L.*, Vol. 203, col. 1311-A; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 5, 280: n. 22.

<sup>144</sup> B. Hauréau, *Histoire de la philosophie scolastique*, 1<sup>st</sup> part, Paris, 1872, p. 181-185, 195-196; J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 122-123, 138, 196-197; É. Jeauneau, "Heiric disciple de Jean Scot", in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre de Muretach à Rémi 830-908*, editors: D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy, G. Lobrichon, Paris, 1991, p. 353-370.

<sup>145</sup> Adémar de Chabannes, *Historiarum* III, 5: ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores* (Suppl.) IV, p. 119; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 7, 283: n. 35-37; C. Jeudy, "L'œuvre de Rémi d'Auxerre", in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, p. 373-397, one Plate: Bern, Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Zesiger 1, f. 132, i.e. *Expositio super Matthaeum*, attributed unduely to Remi of Auxerre; C. Jeudy, "Remigii autissiodorensis opera (Clavis)", in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, p. 458-500; C. Lutz, *Remigii Autissiodorensis commentum in Martianum Capellam*, Vol. 1: Libri I-III, Leiden, 1962, Vol. 2: Libri III-IX, Leiden, 1965.

<sup>146</sup> R. Quadri, *I Collectanea di Erico di Auxerre, (Spicilegium Friburgense 11)*, Friburgo, Svizzera, 1966, p. 15-25; É. Jeauneau, "Les écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* n° 19, Spoleto, 1972; p. 511-519; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 7, 283: n. 37.

<sup>147</sup> Martinus Hiberniensis (Martin of Laon, †ca. 875): J. J. Contreni, "The Irish 'Colony' at Laon during the Time of John Scottus Eriugena", in *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, ed. R. Roques, (Colloquium of the CNRS n° 561 held in Laon July 7-12, 1975), Paris, 1977, p. 59-67, reprinted in *Variorum*, Hampshire (G.B.), 1992, ch. VIII; *Idem*, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, München, 1978, p. 67, 83, 92, 102, 116-117, 121, 141-142.

<sup>148</sup> See letter by Pardoul of Laon dated 851-852: "Scottum illum qui est in palatio regis• Iohannes nomine• scribere coegimus"; *Patrologia latina*, 121, *Epistolae ad ecclesiam Lugdunensem* [i.e. Laon]: col. 1052; cf. M. Cappyuns, *Jean Scot Erigène*, p. 53-54, 116-117; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 8, 284: n. 41. It was probably at this period that Hucbald drafted up his treatise *De institutione musica libri quinque*.

in order to prefect his skills in the *quattuor matheseos disciplinae*, that is to say the *Quadrivium*.

After being ordained a priest on Saturday the 24th of September in the leap year of 880<sup>149</sup>, Hucbald was mandated around the year 883 to come to the Abbey of Sithiu<sup>150</sup> as Headmaster of the abbey school<sup>151</sup>. Hucbald remained in Sithiu for ten years, after which he was called to the city of Rheims in 893 by the Archbishop Fulques (†900), where he with his colleague Remigius of Auxerre rebuilt the cathedral and monastic schools which had been devastated in the year 889 by the Viking invasions; he remained in Rheims for seven years until the year 900<sup>152</sup>.

As of the year 900 at the age of 60, Hucbald returned to the monastery of Saint-Amand, his home base, while his colleague Remigius of Auxerre, at the time approximately 59 years old<sup>153</sup>, undertook activities as Headmaster in Paris; there, he seems to have had Odo, future abbot of Cluny<sup>154</sup>, as one of his students in 901-902. As of this period, Hucbald seems to have spent the rest of his life at Saint-Amand actively teaching, researching, and writing in the fields of hagiography<sup>155</sup>, music

<sup>149</sup> See manuscript Valenciennes B. m. 174 (*olim* 166) 10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 38; ed. G. Pertz, *MGH, Scriptores*, Vol. V, p. 19; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 8, p. 284: note 44; H. Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, 12<sup>th</sup> edition by J. Asch, Hannover, 1982, p. 134-135.

<sup>150</sup> Sithiu or Saint-Bertin, situated near villa Sancti Audomari, today Saint-Omer: Administrative Seat of the District, Department Pas-de-Calais 62500.

<sup>151</sup> *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium* (ca. 965), II, 54-55: *P. L.*, Vol. 136, col. 1253; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 8, p. 284: n. 45.

<sup>152</sup> Flodoardi *Historia Ecclesiae Remensis*, IV,9; *P. L.*, Vol. 135, col. 289-290; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 9, p. 285: note 49.

<sup>153</sup> The precise date of birth of Remigius of Auxerre is uncertain; he must have been approximately the same age as Hucbald; C. Jeudy, "Remigii autissiodorensis opera (*Clavis*)", p. 459.

<sup>154</sup> Iohannis, *Vita sancti Odonis*, I,3; I,19; *P. L.*, Vol. 133, 45-A • 52-A; C. Jeudy, "Remigii autissiodorensis opera (*Clavis*)", p. 460. After Berno, Odo was the second Abbot of Cluny: 927-942.

<sup>155</sup> Five lives of saints are attributed to Hucbald: (1) *Passio sanctorum Cyrici et Iulittae*, ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 132, col. 851-858; taken from Bonino Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum* (2 Volumes), Milano, ca. 1479-1480 / Solesmes, 1910, Vol. 2, f. 234v<sup>o</sup>-236v<sup>o</sup>, based on: Valenciennes, B.m., 500 (*olim* 449), 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 50-52, and Vaticano, BAV, lat. 615, 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 283; *Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. IV, XVI<sup>o</sup> kal. Iulias, Paris, 1866, p. 28-32, based on Vaticano, BAV, lat. 6074, 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 83; *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina*

and liturgy<sup>156</sup>, but also as director of the library (*armarius*) and in copying manuscripts<sup>157</sup>. As indicated earlier, Hucbald the philosopher

---

*antiquae et mediae aetatis. Subsidia hagiographica* 70 (BHL), Brussels, ed. H. Fros, 1986, Nr.1809 • (2) *Passio sancti Cassiani*, ed. F. Dolbeau, “Passion de s. Cassien d’Imola composée d’après Prudence par Hucbald de Saint-Amand”, in *Revue bénédictine* n° 87, 1977, p. 242, 246-256, based on Cambrai, B.m., 840, 15<sup>th</sup> c., f. 38-47 • (3) *Vita sanctae Rictrudis*: Brussels, B. R., 9119, 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 147-152; ed. J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, Paris, 1668-1701, Venice, 1739-1745: 6 Vol. in 9 parts, Vol. II, p. 938-950; *Acta sanctorum, Maius III*, p. 81-89; J. Ghesquière, *Acta sanctorum Belgii*, Vol. IV, Bruxelles, 1789, p. 488-503; P. L., Vol. 132, col. 829-848; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 290: note 17; BHL, Nr. 7247 • (4) *Vita sancti Lebuini*, ed. A. Hofmeister u. a., MGH, *Scriptores* (Suppl.), 30 (2), p. 789-795; cf. L. Van der Essen, Etude critique, p. 535; BHL, Nr. 4812 a-b • (5) *De sancto Ionate*, ed. *Acta sanctorum*, kalendis Augusti (i. e. the 1<sup>st</sup> day of August); Migne, P. L., Vol. 132, column 900-903, edition completed in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis*, Bruxelles, 1889, II, 171-173; J. Ghesquière, *Acta sanctorum Belgii*, Vol. IV, Bruxelles, 1789, p. 152-157: fragments; Migne, P. L., Vol. 132, col. 900-903; *Neues Archiv*, Vol. XV, p. 448-452; BHL, Nr. 4447-4448) • cf. L. Ven der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints mérovingiens de l’ancienne Belgique*, Louvain, 1907; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 14-15, p. 289-290: notes 13-20.

<sup>156</sup> Among the liturgical offices attributed to Hucbald are the following: (1) *Eleuatio sancti Theoderici abbatis* (cf. Douai, B.m., 295, 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 58v°-64; ed. Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 347-371: Appendice V) • (2) *Prosa de sancto Cyrico* (cf. Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 1101, 13<sup>th</sup> c., Missal of Saint-Amand, f. 322r°-v°; G. M. researching, and writing in the fields of hagiography<sup>156</sup>, music and Dreves (ed.), *Analecta Hymnica*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 161-162: n° 212; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 372- 375: Appendice VI) • (3) *Gloria Quem uere pia laus* (Paris, B.n.F., n.a.l. 1235, 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 234v°-235, Gradual-Tonary-Tropar-Prosar of the Cathedral of Nevers, notated on four lines with B-Flat, see Feast of Saint Michael: 29<sup>th</sup> of September; ed. Guido Maria Drèves, *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. 47, 1905, n° 185, p. 248; Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 376- 390: Appendice VII) • (4) *Histoira sancti Petri* (cf. Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 12044, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *in.*, f. 151-152, Antiphonaire de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés; ed. Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 391-399: Appendice VIII).

<sup>157</sup> Cf. **Index maior** → Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 1850, f. 199-202, catalogue-inventory of the Library of Saint-Amand, written at Saint-Amand between 1159 and 1166, containing 315 articles, which correspond to 359 manuscripts, 278 of which date before 1150, and 107 of which are lost. **Nota bene:** Eighteen of the 359 volumes are attributed nominatively to Hucbald; cf. Y. Chartier, *Hucbald*, p. 335-336: Appendix III.

died Sunday, the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, 930, and was buried in the Church Saint-Peter at Saint-Amand next to his master and uncle Milo<sup>158</sup>.

#### Musical notations

#### Boethius • Hucbald • *Musica enchiridis* • Guido of Arezzo: a comparative Study

Hucbald was considered by his contemporaries, and rightly so, as: *scolasticus* (headmaster-professor-historian), *musicus* (musician-musicologist), *præcentor* (chief cantor and choirmaster), *armarius* (librarian), *custos armarii* (gardien-curator of the treasures of the library), and *philosophus* (philosopher and scientist)<sup>159</sup>. His treatise *De musica*<sup>160</sup>,

---

Cf. *Index minor* → Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 39 (olim 33), f. 2r°, catalogue-inventory of the Library of Saint-Amand, written at Saint-Amand between 1123 and 1136, containing 31 titles, 11 of which are attributed to Hucbald, cf. J. Deslive, *De schola Elnonensi Sancti Amandi a saeculo IX ad XII usque*, Louvain, 1890, XV – 209 pages; cf. Catalogue of Anchin, conserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1820 / 30 (olim 350), 11<sup>th</sup> c., beginning, f. 108-109, cf. J. Gessler, “Une bibliothèque scolaire du XI<sup>e</sup> s. d’après le catalogue de l’abbaye d’Anchin”, dans *L’Antiquité classique* n° 4, mai 1935, p. 49-116; Y. Chartier, ...*Hucbald...*, p. 337-340: Appendice III); concerning the “Indices maior et minor”, see also: L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, Vol. II, Paris, 1874, p. 448-458: n°s 163-172; A. Boutemy, “Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand d’après les manuscrits et les anciens catalogues”, in *Scriptorium* n° 1, 1946, p. 6-16; Françoise Simeray, *Le Scriptorium et la Bibliothèque de l’abbaye de Saint-Amand, thèse de l’École nationale des chartes*, Paris, 1990 • *Idem*, *l’École nationale des chartes, Positions des Thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1990 pour obtenir le diplôme d’archiviste paléographe*, Paris, 1990, p. 151-159; F. Simeray, “Le scriptorium de la bibliothèque de l’abbaye de Saint-Amand”, in *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes (BEC)*, 1990, p. 151-159: study and observations on 150 manuscrits of the 12<sup>th</sup> century during the time of Abbot Hugues II (1150-1159). **Nota bene:** F. Simeray also wrote a thesis on the Scriptorium and the Library of Saint-Amand at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, 4<sup>th</sup> Section-Sorbonne, Paris, 1993.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. J. Deslive, *De schola Elnonensis...*, p. 114; *Initia carminum latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum*, D. Schaller, E. Köngsen (eds.), Göttingen (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht), 1977, Nr.: 3922, 11968, 12328; Y. Chartier, Hucbald, p. 9-10, p. 286: n. 55, 56.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Jean Mabillon, *Traité des études monastiques*, I, XI, Paris, 1691, p. 64-65; Y. Chartier, Hucbald, p. 335: Appendice III. In the Carolingian monastic schools, it was not rare that *scolasticus* accumulated several different management functions: intellectual, spiritual, and practical, within the life of the monastery.

just as the treatises of Amalarius on liturgy, the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelianus Reomensis, the philosophical, theological, and poetic works of John Scott Eriugena, was clearly inscribed in the vast educational reforms instituted by Charlemagne, and his admirable Minister of Education and General Culture Alcuin of York, through his well-known *Capitularium Admonitio generalis* of the year 789. Hucbald's *De musica* is among the first Carolingian attempts to rationalize the reading of music, still fundamentally an oral tradition. In his treatise, he experiments for the first time in the 9<sup>th</sup> century with a readable and functional musical notation based on the ancient Greek musical notation transmitted by Boethius in his *De institutione musica* Book IV. The Hucbald musical notation experiment is indeed the most novel element of his treatise, and is, in fact, a simplified version of the ancient Greek notation, called notation of Alypius<sup>161</sup>. Hucbald's notation is a forerunner of the readable musical notation of the 9<sup>th</sup>-century anonymous treatises *Musica et Scolica Enchiriadis* and *Commemoratio brevis*<sup>162</sup>, as well as

---

<sup>160</sup> Yves Chartier (critical edition), *De harmonica institutione, L'œuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand. Les compositions et le traité de musique*, [Part 1, Map, Forward: p. 7-19, Introduction: p. 1-120, Parallel Texts: p. 122-130, Part 2, Conspectus siglorum: p. 132-133, Synopsis: 134-135, Latin Text with French translation: p. 213, Glossary: 215-227, Part 3, Commentary: p. 231-272, Notes: p. 275-321, Appendices: p. 324- 404, Bibliography: p. 407-442, 14 Plates, Indices: 461-498, Manuscript Tradition, p. 83-117, Conspectus siglorum p. 132-133], *Cahiers d'études médiévales*: Cahier spécial n° 5, Québec (Éditions Bellarmin), 1995; other editions: cf. M. Gerbert, *Scriptores...*, Vol. I., p. 104-152; cf. Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia latina*, Vol. 132, col. 905-958; [http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/HUCHARM\\_TEXT.html](http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/HUCHARM_TEXT.html).

<sup>161</sup> Ἀλύπιος Εἰσαγωγὴ μουσικὴ [Alýpios (360 [?] a. D.) *Eisagogi mousikí*] ed. C. von Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, ch. VIII, p. 367-406, Plate 1; Γαύδεντιος, Ἀρμονικὴ εἰσαγωγὴ [Gaudentios (2<sup>nd</sup> c. a. D.) *Armonikí eisagogí*], ed. C. von Jan, p. 319-356; Friedrich Bellermand, *Die Tonleitern und Musiknoten der Griechen* (Anonymus III), Berlin, 1847 (reprint, Wiesbaden, 1969); Friedlein, p. 343 addenda; Bower, p. 122-123 (note 20), 124-127; Meyer, p. 235-237 (note 7).

<sup>162</sup> Valenciennes [France-59300], Bibliothèque municipale, 337 (*olim* 325, 359), 10<sup>th</sup> c., *Musica Enchiriadis*: f. 42-54v°, *Scolica Enchiriadis*: f. 55v°-79v°; Bamberg [Germany-96001], Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Class. 9, 10<sup>th</sup> c., *Musica Enchiriadis*: f. 1-14v°, *Scolica Enchiriadis*: f. 15v-48v°; ed. Hans Schmid, *Musica et Scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*. Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission (3), Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München 1981; ed. Raymond Erickson, *Musica*

the alphabetical notation of the 11<sup>th</sup>-century treatise *Regulae rhythmicae in antiphonarii sui prologum prolatae* by the benedictine monk Guido of Arezzo (†ca. 1050)<sup>163</sup>.

Let us examine briefly the discret musical notation of Hucbald in the perspective of the discret notations which followed his experiment. Hucbald's discret musical notation<sup>164</sup>, as mentioned above, models itself on the Alypian notation found in the Boethii *De institutione musica* Book III<sup>165</sup>, and in particular on the 18 + 18 signs of the diatonic *lydian* mode-trope seen here in the *Descriptio* VI, column 3<sup>166</sup>.

---

*enchiriadis* and *Scolica enchiriadis*, New Haven, 1995; [http://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/m/musica\\_enchiriadis.html](http://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/m/musica_enchiriadis.html).

<sup>163</sup> Bern [Switzerland-3000], Stadtbibliothek, Ms. A 91 21, 11<sup>th</sup> c., *Micrologus*: f. 1r<sup>o</sup>-5v<sup>o</sup>, *Regulae*: f. 6r<sup>o</sup>-v<sup>o</sup>; ed. Gerbert Martin (1720-1793), in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* 3 Vol., St. Blasien 1784; Hildesheim, 1967, Vol., p. 115, 118; [http://www.musicologie.org/publire/m/jmw/notices/guy\\_arezto.html](http://www.musicologie.org/publire/m/jmw/notices/guy_arezto.html).

**Nota bene:** The solmization notation **Ut – Re – Mi – Fa – Sol – La**, that is to say: **C – D – E – F – G – A** was also invented by Guido of Arezzo. These syllables are based on the first stanza of the hymn “**Ut** queant laxis **re**sonare fibris **mi**ra gestorum **fa**muli tuorum, **so**lve polluti **la**bii reatum, Sancte Iohannes”, sung at Vespers on the Feast Day of Saint John-The-Baptist, the 24<sup>th</sup> of June; R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Anthiponalium Officii*, Vol. II, Nr. 99, p. 475. The **Si** [**Ti**] was added later by Anselm of Flanders (16<sup>th</sup> c.) and the **Do** was added by the Italian musician G. Doni in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and popularised by another Italian musician G. Bononcini around 1673. This solfegic system is still in use in the French language.

<sup>164</sup> Hucbaldi *Musica*, ¶47; ed. M. Gerbert, Vol. I, p. 115, 118-b; Y. Chartier, p. 69-72, p. 184-185: ¶38, p. 198-199: ¶47.

<sup>165</sup> Boethii *De institutione musica* IV,16; ed. Friedlein, p. 343 addenda; Bower, p. 155-156; Meyer, p. 298-299; cf. Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 73.

<sup>166</sup> Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque* IV,3 • IV,4; ed. Friedlein, p. 309: line 22 - p. 314: line 6; Bower, p. 123-127; Meyer, p. 235-241.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
18. Proslambanomenos	ω	Ν	Ζ	Τ	Ε	Π	Β	Ω
17. Hypate hypaton	Φ	Ψ	Χ	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ
16. Parhypate hypaton	Υ	Ψ	Χ	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ
15. Lichanos hypaton	Π	Τ	Ζ	Ε	Π	Β	Ω	Ν
14. Hypate meson	Μ	Τ	Ζ	Ε	Π	Β	Ω	Ν
13. Parhypate meson	Λ	Μ	Τ	Ζ	Ε	Π	Β	Ω
12. Lichanos meson	Η	Κ	Λ	Μ	Τ	Ζ	Ε	Π
11. Mese	Γ	Ν	Ζ	Ε	Π	Β	Ω	Ν
10. Trita synemmenon	Β	Ω	Ν	Ζ	Ε	Π	Β	Ω
9. Paraneite synemmenon	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ
8. Nete synemmenon	Υ	Ψ	Χ	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ
7. Paramese	Υ	Ψ	Χ	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ
6. Trita diezeugmenon	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ
5. Paraneite diezeugmenon	Υ	Ψ	Χ	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ
4. Nete diezeugmenon	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ
3. Trita hyperboleon	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ
2. Paraneite hyperboleon	Υ	Ψ	Χ	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ
1. Nete hyperboleon	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ

© *Descriptio VI*: Illo Humphrey | Paris | September, 2000 •

© Greek notation: 8 modes-tropes (scales) with their 288 signs, according to Boethius (6<sup>th</sup> c.).

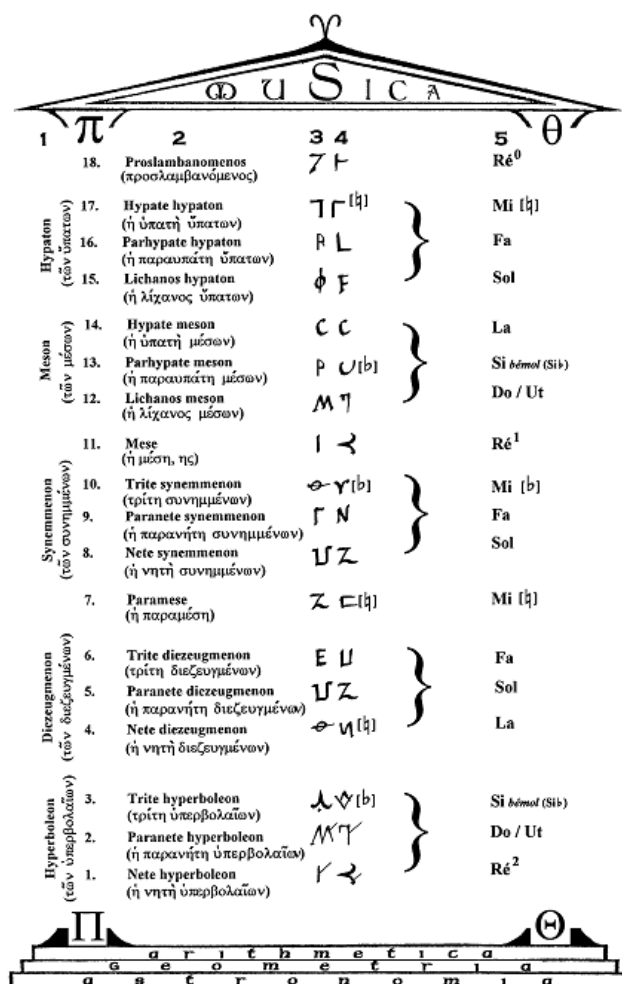
(This notation reads from bottom to top, from the highest pitch “*Nete hyperboleon*”, to the lowest pitch “*Proslambanomenos*”).

cf. Beothii *De institutione musica* IV,16; Friedlein, p. 343 addenda; Bower, p. 155-156; Meyer, p. 298-299, C. von Jan, p. 367-406. In each of the 8 columns, each mode-trope is composed of a double notation, one for human voice on the left, one for instruments on the right.

1. Mode-Trope : [F<sup>1</sup>] *Hypermixolydian* (*Hyperphrygian*) diatonic of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον •
2. Mode-Trope : [E<sup>0</sup>] *Mixolydian* (or *Hyperionian*) diatonic of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον •
3. Mode-Trope : [D<sup>0</sup>] *Lydian* diatonic of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον •
4. Mode-Trope : [C<sup>0</sup>] *Phrygian* diatonic of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον •
5. Mode-Trope : [B-Flat<sup>0</sup>] *Dorian* diatonic of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον •
6. Mode-Trope : [A<sup>0</sup>] *Hypolydian* diatonic of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον •
7. Mode-Trope : [G<sup>0</sup>] *Hypophrygian* diatonic of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον •
8. Mode-Trope : [F<sup>0</sup>] *Hypodorian* diatonic of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον •

The *lydian* diatonic mode-trope of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον, just as those of the seven others shown in *Descriptio VI*, divides itself into five distinct voice registers (*tetrachords*), and should be read from bottom to top, from the highest pitch to the lowest pitch, which explains the τρίτη ὑπερβολαίων (the 3<sup>rd</sup> pitch of the *hyperboleon* voice registers), τρίτη διεzeugμένων (the 3<sup>rd</sup> pitch of the *diezeugmenon* voice registers), τρίτη συνημμένων (the 3<sup>rd</sup> pitch of the *synemmenon* voice registers). See below *Descriptio VII*.





© *Descriptio VII*: Illo Humphrey | Paris | September, 2000 •

© Chart of the discret musical notation *lydian* diatonic scale (6<sup>th</sup> c.): Beothii *De musica* IV,3 •  
(Reminder: This notation reads from bottom to top, from the highest pitch “*Nete hyperboleon*”, to the lowest pitch “*Proslambanomenos*”)

1. Names of the 5 voice registers of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον, Beothii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
  2. Names of the 18 degrees of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον, Beothii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
  3. Discret Musical Notation for the humain voice (mode-trope *lydian*), Beothii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
  4. Discret Musical Notation for instruments (mode-trope *lydian*), Beothii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
  5. Solmization system invented in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. by Guido of Arezzo, except Si [Ti] and Do, from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c. •
- Nota bene (1):** The Latin Names of the 5 voice registers according to Boethius are as follows: Principalium • Mediarum • Coniunctarum • Diuisiarum • Excellentium; *De institutione musica* IV,3; ed. G.F., p. 309-312 •
- Nota bene (2):** The Latin Names of the 5 voice registers according to Martianus Capella are as follows: Principalium • Mediarum • Coniunctarum • Separatarum • Excellentium; *De nuptiis* IX, *De harmonia*, 961; ed. J. Willis, p. 371-374 •

Hucbald, as we observe, models his notation after that of Alypius<sup>167</sup>, partially transmitted by Boethius<sup>168</sup>, albeit, he adapts it and simplifies it, and retains only the signs of the diatonic *lydian* mode-trope for the needs of his treatise. See below *Descriptio VIII*<sup>169</sup>.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
				$\beta'$	$\alpha'$	$\alpha'$	Cis	C sharp	Do <sup>#</sup> / Ut <sup>#</sup>
				t	t	c c [h]	C	C natural	Do <sup>n</sup> / Ut <sup>n</sup>
				$\alpha'$	t	b b	H (Ha)	B natural	Si bécarre (Si <sup>n</sup> )
				t	b b	[B]	[B flat]	[Si bécarre] (Si <sup>n</sup> )	
				$\delta'$	p	a a	A	A	La
				t	o	g	G	G	Sol <sup>2</sup>
				$\gamma'$	n	f	F	F	Fa
				$\beta'$	m	e	E	E	Mi
				$\alpha'$					
				t	i	d	D	D	Ré
				$\delta'$	k	c	C	C	Do / Ut
				$\gamma'$	i	b	H (Ha)	B natural	Si bécarre (Si <sup>n</sup> )
				t	/	b	B	B flat	Si bécarre (Si <sup>n</sup> )
				$\alpha'$	h	a	A	A	La
				t					
				$\delta'$	g	G	G	G	Sol <sup>1</sup>
				$\gamma'$	f	F	F	F	Fa
				$\beta'$	e	E	E	E	Mi
				$\alpha'$	d	D	D	D	Ré
				t	c	C	C	C	Do / Ut
				$\delta'$					
				$\gamma'$	B <sup>n</sup>	[Ha]	[B <sup>n</sup> ]	[Si <sup>n</sup> ]	
				t	B	B <sup>n</sup>	Si bécarre (Si <sup>n</sup> )		
				$\beta'$	a	A	A	A	La
				$\alpha'$	Γ	Γ	G	G	Sol <sup>0</sup>

© *Descriptio VIII*: Illo Humphrey | Paris | September, 2000 •

© Comparative Chart de 10 discret musical notations: 6<sup>th</sup> century to the 21<sup>st</sup> century •

(The notations of columns 3 through 10 read from bottom to top, from the lowest pitch to the highest pitch).

<sup>167</sup> C. von Jan, *Musici scriptores Graeci*, Leipzig (Teubner), 1895, reprint, Hildesheim (Olms) 1962, Stuttgart | Leipzig, 1995, p. 367-406.

<sup>168</sup> Boethii *De institutione musica* IV,16; Friedlein, p. 343 addenda; Bower, p. 155-156; Meyer, p. 298-299.

<sup>169</sup> *Descriptio VIII* highlights the Boethian alphabetic musical notation “A-P” (see column 3), which strongly influenced the readable musical notations of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries; Boethii *De institutione musica* IV,17; Meyer, p. 304.

1. Vocal Notation of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον (*lydian* diatonic mode-trope, D transposed to A), Boethii *De musica* IV,3 et IV,16 •
2. Instrumental Notation of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον (*lydian* diatonic mode-trope, D transposed to A), Boethii *De musica* IV,3 •
3. *Bis diapason* “A – P” Scale of the Σύστημα τέλειον μείζων (6<sup>th</sup> c.), Boethii *De musica* IV,17, ed. Friedlein., p. 347; Bower, p. 159 •
4. Notation of Hucbald of Saint-Amand (ca. 873-880), (mode of D transposed to A), *Musica* ¶38, ¶47, ed. Chartier, p. 72, p. 184, 198 •
5. *Dasian* Notation, *Musica et scolica enchiridis, Commemoration brevis* (ca. 880), H. Schmid, p. 4-7, p. 178 •
6. Notation of the Gradual-Tonary, Montpellier, Bibl. Faculty of Medicine, ms. H. 159 (11<sup>th</sup> c.), *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. VII–VIII •
7. Notation of Guido of Arezzo (ca. 1027): *Regulae rhythmicae in antiphonarii sui prologum prolatae*, ed. M. Gerbert, Vol. II, p. 25 •
8. Names of the discret pitches used in German •
9. Names of the discret pitches used in English •
10. Solmization system (11<sup>th</sup> c.) invented by Guido of Arezzo, except Si [Ti] and Do, from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c. •

### Analysis of the discrete pre-solfegic notation of Hucbald of Saint-Amand

An attentive examination of *Descriptio* VIII reveals that Hucbald’s notation is based on the diatonic *lydian* mode-trope in Boethii *De musica* IV,3. The notation of Hucbald, however, distinguishes itself from that of Boethius in eliminating the double notation, and in choosing eclectically a mixture of signs from both vocal and instrumental notations. Then he inverses the notation having his scale begin at the lowest pitch and proceeding to the highest pitch<sup>170</sup>. Next, he eliminates the double signs of the degrees called ἡ παρανήτη [-νέατη] συνημμένων and ἡ νητὴ [νέατη] συνημμένων (*paranete synemmenon et nete synemmenon*: [B♭] → C → D [i.e. E♭ → F → G]), τρίτη διεzeugμένων et ἡ παρανήτη [-νέατη] διεzeugμένων (*trite diezeugmenon et paranete diezeugmenon*: C → D → [E] [i.e. F → G → A])<sup>171</sup>, which are replaced by the two signs: e simplex and Ω [Oméga] quadratum inversed<sup>172</sup>. Hucbald then replaces the inversed N of the degree ἡ νητὴ [νέατη] διεzeugμένων (*nete diezeugmenon*) by a normal N<sup>173</sup>. One observes as well that Hucbald uses the sign β for the degree τῶν ὑπατων : ἡ

<sup>170</sup> Hucbaldi *De musica*, § 38, ¶ 47; ed. M. Gerbert, Vol. I, p. 115, p. 118-b; Y. Chartier, p. 72, p. 184-185; ¶38, p. 198-199; § 47.

<sup>171</sup> The τῶν συνημμένων constitute the conjunct voice register, and the τῶν διεzeugμένων constitute the disjunct voice register, see *Descriptio* VII: columns 1, 2, 3, 4, and *Descriptio* VIII: columns 1, 2, 3, 4.

<sup>172</sup> See *Descriptio* VIII: columns 6 and 7; Y. Chartier, p. 69, 72, p. 184-185: 38, p. 198-199; ¶ 47.

<sup>173</sup> See *Descriptio* VIII: column 4, and *Descriptio* VIII: column 6 and 7; Y. Chartier, p. 69, 72, 184-185.

παραυπάτη ὑπάτων (that is to say the voice register *Hypaton*: *parhypate hypaton*), whereas Boethius uses a truncated β<sup>174</sup>. Finally, Hucbald's choice of the diatonic *lydian* mode-trope is not fortuitous, for it is indeed this scale that falls most comfortably into the normal register of the average human voice, and consequently the most comfortable scale for the average chanter. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the diatonic *lydian* mode-trope corresponds to the "Gregorian" mode *authenticus protus*, that is to say the mode of D, the 1<sup>st</sup> of the 8 modes de the Latin ὀκτώηχος (*októichos*)<sup>175</sup>, that is to say the eight traditional Church modes of "Gregorian" Chant.

The *Descriptio* VIII, a synoptic comparative study of the notations of Boethius and of Hucbald, shows clearly the influence of the former on the latter. It shows as well the intention of Hucbald to adapt the old tradition of knowledge to the needs of the new Carolingian branch of knowledge and general culture. In spite of the fact that Hucbald's notation did not survive beyond his lifetime, it constitutes an important stage in the evolution of musical science, which, as we have been able to observe, remains well-enracinated in the Boethian tradition.

---

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Beothii *De institutione musica* IV, 3; IV, 4; ed. Friedlein, p. 309: 22 to p. 314: 6; Bower, p. 123-127; Meyer, p. 236-242; Beothii *De institutione musica* IV, 16; ed. Friedlein, p. 343 addenda; Bower, p. 155; Meyer, p. 298-299; cf. Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200, f. 73.

<sup>175</sup> On the ὀκτώηχος, see O. Strunk, "The tonal System of Byzantine Music", in *Musical Quarterly*: n° 27, 1942, p. 190-204, et n° 31, 1945, p. 339-335; Idem, "Antiphons of the Oktoechos", in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* n° 13, 1960, p. 165-166; Dom Jean Claire, OSB, "Les répertoires liturgiques latins avant l'octoéchos", in *Études grégoriennes*, Vol. 15, 1975, p. 11-192; A. Turco, "Les répertoires liturgiques latins en marche vers l'octoéchos", in *Études grégoriennes*, Vol. 18, 1979, p. 177-223; O. Cullin (ed.), *La composition modale avant l'octoéchos: bilans et recherches*, Colloque, Tours: 4-5 September, 1997, *Études Grégoriennes*, 1998: <http://www.sun.rhbnc.ac.uk/Music/Conferences/97-9-mod.html>.

© *Descriptio IX*: Illo Humphrey | Paris | September, 2000 •

© Musical notations: Comparative Chart, Boethii *De musica* IV,3, Hucbaldi *De musica* 38, 47 •

(Reminder: This notation reads from bottom to top, from the highest pitch “*Nete hyperboleon*”, to the lowest pitch “*Proslambanomenos*”).

- Names of the 5 voice registers of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον, Beothii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
- Names of the 18 degrees of the Σύστημα ἀμετάβολον, Beothii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
- Discret Musical Notation for the humain voice (mode-trope *lydian*), Beothii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
- Discret Musical Notation for instruments (mode-trope *lydian*), Beothii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
- Names of the 18 double signs of the *lydian* diatonic mode-trope, Boethii *De musica* IV,3 • IV,4 • IV,16 •
- Discret Musical Notation of the *lydian* diatonic mode-trope, Hucbaldi *Musica* 38, Chartier, p. 72, p. 184 •
- Discret Musical Notation of the *lydian* diatonic mode-trope, Hucbaldi *Musica* 47, Chartier, p. 72, p. 198 •
- Solmization system (11<sup>th</sup> c.) invented by Guido of Arezzo, except Si [Ti] and Do, from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c. •

**Nota bene:** The complete name of the sign for the human voice *trite hyperboleon* is *Y deorsum respiciens dextrum*• and for the sign for instruments *trite hyperboleon* is *Semialpha sinistrum sursum respiciens* •

The *Descriptio* X highlights the Boethian alphabetical “bis diapason A – P” notation found in column 1, and the *dasian* notation of the anonymus treatises *Musica et Scolica Enchiriadis* and *Commemoratio Brevis*<sup>176</sup> found in columns 2, 3, and 4. *Descriptio* X shows clearly to what extent the influence of Boethius is ever present from the 6<sup>th</sup> century down to the present day.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	« Iacenzium » sive « Ulterior » sive « Residual »	β'	α'	β'	α'	β'	α'	β'	α'
	5 <sup>o</sup> Palier vocal ↑	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
P	« Tetrachordum Excellentium » sive « Excellentes »	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
O	4 <sup>o</sup> Palier vocal ↑	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
N		δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
L	« Tetrachordum Superiorum » sive « Superiores »	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
K	3 <sup>o</sup> Palier vocal ↑	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
I		δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
H	« Tetrachordum Finallium » sive « Finales » sive « Terminales »	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
G	2 <sup>o</sup> Palier vocal ↑	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
F		δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
E		δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
D		δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
C		δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
B	« Tetrachordum Gravium » sive « Graves »	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'	δ'	γ'
A	1 <sup>o</sup> Palier vocal ↑	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t

© *Descriptio* X: Illo Humphrey | Paris | September, 2000 •

<sup>176</sup> H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1904-1922, 4 Vol., see Vol. I: *Mittelalter*, p. 72-74; N. Phillips, “*Musica*” et “*Scolica Enchiriadis*”. *The literary, theoretical and musical sources*, New York University, 1984, University Microfilms International, 1985, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Nr. 85-05525; R. Erickson, *Musica and Scolica Enchiriadis*, traduction anglaise, avec introduction et notes, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1995, LIV + 106 pages; cf. ed. Hans Schmid, *Musica et scolica Enchiriadis*, München, 1981; [http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/MUSENCI\\_TEXT.html](http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/MUSENCI_TEXT.html) .

© **Comparative Chart of 7 discrete musical notations: 6th century to the 21<sup>st</sup> century •**  
**(Theses notations read from bottom to top, from the lowest pitch to the highest pitch.)**

1. *Bis diapason* “A – P” Scale of the Σύστημα τέλειον μεζζων (6<sup>th</sup> c.), Boethii *De musica* IV,17, ed. G. Friedlein, p. 347 •
2. The 5 voice registers of the *Dasian* notation, *Musica et Solica enchiriadis* (ca. 880), ch. I, ed. Hans Schmid, p. 4-7 •
3. Division of the 4 voice registers:  $\alpha'$  = “protos uel archchoos” •  $\beta'$  = “deuteros” •  $\gamma'$  = “tritros” •  $\delta'$  = “tetrardus” • t = tonus • s = semitonium • cf. *Musica et Solica enchiriadis*, (v. 880), ch. I, ed. Hans Schmid, p. 4-7 •
4. *Dasian* Notation, *Musica et scolica enchiriadis, Commemoration breuis* (ca. 880), ed. H. Schmid, p. 4-7, p. 178 •
5. Notation of the Gradual-Tonary, Montpellier, Bibl. Faculty of Medicine., ms. H. 159 (11<sup>th</sup> c.), *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. VII–VIII •
6. Notation of Guido of Arezzo (ca. 1027): *Regulae rhythmicae in antiphonarii sui prologum prolatae*, ed. M. Gerbert, Vol. II, p. 25 •
7. Names of the discret pitches used in German •
8. Names of the discret pitches used in English •
9. Solmization system invented in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. by Guido of Arezzo, except Si [Ti] and Do, introduced in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c. •

## Conclusion

The treatise *De musica* by Hucbald of Saint-Amand, as well as his novel musical notation, which constitutes the most salient part of his treatise, was elaborated, in all probability, during the period between his study sojourn at the *Schola Palatina* in Laon (under the tutorship of Martinus Hiberniensis and John Scottus Eriugena so it seems), around the years 872 and 880, and his appointment as *Scolasticus in Sithiu in approximately the year 883*, by his maternal uncle Raoul (†892), himself named Abbot of Sithiu in the year 883. Hucbald taught in Sithiu for a period of ten years, after which he was appointed Scolasticus in Rheims by the Archbishop of Rheims Foulques (†900). After the death of Foulques, Hucbald, then sixty years of age, returned to Saint-Amand, and occupied the last thirty year of his life in intensive scientific-philosophical study, in teaching, in literary and musical compositions, and in the transcription of manuscripts. At Saint-Amand, his functions were multiple and varied, he was simultaneously *scolasticus* • *musicus* • *praecentor* • *armarius* or *custos armarii* • *philosophus*, which means he was Headmaster of the monastic school, Gardian of the Treasures of the Library, and Director of the *Scriptorium* (workshop of the scribes).

This critical proto-philological study of the musical notation of Hucbald of Saint-Amand highlights once again the important role which Boethius played in the different stages of the evolution of readable musical notations between the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, in elaborating his musical notation, the most innovative aspect of his

treatise *De musica*, Hucbald calls upon the unique Carolingian Latine source of *ars musica* containing the Greek musical notations of Alýpios, that is to say the Boethii *De institutione musica* Book III. This study also underlines the fact that the protagonists of the Carolingian and the post-Carolingian education and general culture made vigorous and successful efforts to spark off a *renovatio* of the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge* of their European ancestors, all while adapting this tradition to the needs of their new civilisation. To be sure, Hucbald's treatise *De Musica*<sup>177</sup> was an essential element in this *renovatio*, and was indeed a veritable product of the Carolingian *Renaissance*, which itself was firmly rooted in the Boethian *corpus*, glosses and commentaries.

---

## CHAPTER 8: BOETHII *CONSOLATIO PHILOSOPHIAE*

---

<sup>177</sup> Here is the list of manuscripts, with *sigla*, of the *De musica* of Hucbald, based on the critical edition of Yves Chartier: Cambridge, Bibl. Univ. Gg. V. 35, 11<sup>th</sup> c., quondam abbatiae sancti Augustini Cantuariæ f. 263-272v° • (T): Praha, Bibl. Univ. XIX. C. 26 (olim Tetschensis 273), 11<sup>th</sup> c., Belgia. f. 19-28v° • (B): Bruxelles, Bibl. 10078-95, 12<sup>th</sup> c., quondam. S. Y-XVI. 1, 15<sup>th</sup> c., a M. Gerberto collatus, ex Italia, f. 167v°-177v° • (S): Strasbourg, 15<sup>th</sup> c., anno 1870 in flammis deperditus, a Martino Gerbert collatus, ex Italia • Fragments → (W): Wien, Bibl. Nat. Cpv 51 (olim Univ. 38), 12<sup>th</sup> c., ex Bavaria, f. 35r°-35v° • (MC): Monte Cassino, Bibl. abbatiae 318, 11<sup>th</sup> c., ex Italia, p. 116 • (V): Venezia, Bibl. Marc. Lat. Z. 497 (loc. 181 1), 11<sup>th</sup> c., medii, ex Italia, f. 146v° • (F<sup>1</sup>): Firenze, Bibl. Nat. F. Conv. Sopp. F. III. 565, 11<sup>th</sup> c., ex Italia, f. 76 • (F<sup>2</sup>): Firenze, Bibl. Medicea abbatiae sancti Petri Gemblacensis, f. 84v°-92 • (E): Einsiedlen, Bibl. monast. 169, 11<sup>th</sup> c., ex Alemania, p. 113-128 • (O): Oxford, Bibl. Bodl. Canon. misc. 212, 15<sup>th</sup> c., quondam Bononiensis. F. 31v-39v° • (J): Krakow, Bibl. Univ. 1965, 12<sup>th</sup> c., ex Italia, p. 63-76, 49-52 [sic] • (L): Leipzig, Bibl. Univ. 1492, 15<sup>th</sup> c., quondam abbatiae Veteris Cellae (Alt Zell) in Germania, f. 43-49v° • (R): Barcelona, Bibl. Arc. Coron. Aragon., Ripoll 42, 11<sup>th</sup> c., quondam Rivipullensis, f. 59-64 • (C): Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, Plut-Laurenziana, Plut. XXIX. 48, 15<sup>th</sup> c., ex Italia. f. 52 55v°-56 • (P): Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7369, 15<sup>th</sup> c., ex Italia, f. 67, f. 74r°-v°. **Nota bene:** I am pleased here to render homage to Professor Yves Chartier for his remarkable and thorough research on the *scolasticus*, *musicus*, *præcentor*, *armarius*, *custos armarii*, and *philosophus*, which was Hucbald of Saint-Amand.



## CHAPTER 8

BOETHII *CONSOLATIO PHILOSOPHIAE*

- (A) Wisdom Literature • (B) Fleury-sur-Loire • (C) Auxerre •  
 (D) *Boecis*: anonymous Occitan poem on the *Consolatio Philosophiae* •  
 (E) Hagiography •

(A) WISDOM LITERATURE • Philosophy, within the perspective of the long-standing *Tradition of Knowledge* between Plato and Boethius, can be divided into five fundamental categories, namely: the management of happiness and suffering, the management of knowledge and ignorance, the management of spirit and body, the management of justice and injustice, the management of time-space and eternity<sup>178</sup>. The concept of *consolatio*, a well-known poetic genre often composed in dialogue form and in *prosimetrum*<sup>179</sup>, was classified as of Antiquity in the domain of *wisdom literature*, of which one of the oldest and finest recorded examples is the Old-Testament Book of Job<sup>180</sup>, possibly of Sumerian

<sup>178</sup> Illo Humphrey, “Περὶ Παίδειας 2: On the Management of Knowledge and Ignorance”, FaceBook-Articles:

[http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=1643210419&v=app\\_2347471856&ref=profile](http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=1643210419&v=app_2347471856&ref=profile).

<sup>179</sup> *Prosimetrum* is the alternation of prose and metric poetry in a given literary work. Cf. Joseph Harris, Karl Reichl (eds.), *Prosimetrum Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*, Cambridge (UK: Boydell & Brewer), 1997, [15 contributors], see chapter 2: J. Ziolkowski, “The Prosimetrum in the Classical Tradition”, p. 45-66; Peter Dronke, *Verse with Prose from Petronius to Dante. The Art and Scope of mixed form*, Cambridge, Mass., 1994, see chapter I, Menippean Elements, p. 1-26.

<sup>180</sup> Book of Job (בְּיֹב, Standard Hebrew: Sefer Iyyov; Tiberian Hebrew: Sefer 'Iyyob; Arabic: أَيُّوب 'Ayyūb), the 15<sup>th</sup> book of the Old-Testament Canon of the Hebrew Bible, placed just before the *Book of Psalms*, *Sefer Tehillim*: תְּהִלִּים; H. H. Nichols, “The Composition of the Elihu Speeches” [Job 32: 6 – 37: 24], *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXVII (1911), p. 97-186, see p. 99-103; Sister M. Genevieve, “Job, a Drama: The Battle of the Soul”, *Catholic Educational Review*, XXIX (1931), 345-348; W. B. Stevenson (1869–1954), *The Poem of Job: a Literary Study with a New Translation*, London (Oxford University Press), 1947 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy), 1943; N. M. Sarna, “Epic Substratum in the Prose of Job”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXXVI (1957), 13-25; H. H. Rowley, “The Book of Job and Its Meaning”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLI (1958), 167-207; Margaret B. Crook *The Cruel God: Job's Search for the Meaning of Suffering*. Boston (Beacon Press), 1959, chapter 14: “Where shall Wisdom be Found?”, p. 121: <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=289856>; Matitiah Tsevat, “The

origin<sup>181</sup>. The genre *consolatio* is by definition complex, subtle, and multifaceted. It brings into play various aspects of human existence, such as: the role and function of the Supreme Being, the nature of the soul, the cognitive process, the *Sovereign Good* (divine and human ethics), law, theology, providence-destiny (ἡ εἰμαρμένη)<sup>182</sup>, science of nature,

---

Meaning of the Book of Job”, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXXVII (1966), 73-106; Alfred Guillaume (1888-1965), *Studies in the Book of Job with a new Translation*, J. MacDonald (ed.), Supplements II, Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society, Leiden (E. J. Brill), 1968; “The Book of Job”, *Jewish Encyclopedia*: <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=331&letter=J>; W. E. Aufrecht (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Job*, 49<sup>th</sup> annual Meeting of Canadian Society of Biblical Studies 1981, Waterloo, Ontario, 1985, see W. E. Aufrecht, “Aramaic Studies and the Book of Job”: p. 54-66; Ellen van Wolde (ed.), *Job 28: Cognition in Context* (Colloquium organized by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam 2002, *The Book of Job: Suffering and Cognition in Context*), Biblical Interpretation Series 64, Leiden/Boston (E. J. Brill), 2003, p. 119-138; *Indopedia*, “Book of Job”, December 2004: [http://www.indopedia.org/Book\\_of\\_Job.html](http://www.indopedia.org/Book_of_Job.html); Dariusz Iwanski, *The Dynamic of Job’s Intercession*, *Analecta Biblica* 161, Roma (Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico), 2006, see ¶b. Wisdom Poem (Job 28), p. 16-25.

<sup>181</sup> Samuel Noah Kramer (1897-1990), *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine “First” in Recorded History*, [original title: *From the Tablets of Sumer*], Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Press), 1956, 1981, see ch. 15, “Suffering and Submission: The First ‘Job’”, p. 111: <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=10266340>; Ann W. Anstell, *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth*, Ithica (Cornell University Press), 1994.

**Nota bene:** In the perspective of this line of research, it is interesting to continue to explore the the Book of Job, and its possible Sumerian antecedent, concerning the genesis of the genre *consolatio*, and to examine the role it may have played, directly or indirectly, in the conception and elaboration of the Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*.

<sup>182</sup> (1) εἰμαρμένη [heimarméni], – ης (ἥ): *divine providence, justice, just destiny, just lot, just fate, just recompense, just share, just deserts*; (2) εἰμαρμένος, – ου (ὁ): *just destiny, just fate*; (3) εἵμαρται, εἵμαρτο: *fixed by just providence, just destiny, just fate*; (4) εἵμαρτός, ἥ, ὅν: *marked by just destiny*; (5) μείρομαι: *obtain by just providence, just recompense, just destiny, just fate*; (6) μοῖρα, – ας (ἡ): (a) *management of happiness and suffering of mankind, just share, just portion, just recompense, just happiness*; (b) *just destiny, just woe, just fate, just share, just recompense, Goddess of Fate, Goddess of Death*; cf. I. Hadot, *Le Problème du néoplatonisme alexandrine: Hieroclès et Simplicius*, Paris, 1978, 117-143; *Idem*, *Simplicius. Commentaire*

science of the divine, etc. In Greek literature, one finds the genre *consolatio* (ἡ παραμυθία, -ας) among the works of the Platonician Κράντωρ, whose treatise *περὶ Πένθους* (*On Grief*)<sup>183</sup>, today fragmentary, inspired the writing of many subsequent *consolationes*<sup>184</sup>. Then too, the important element of irony in the genre *consolatio* was influenced by what is known as the Menippean satire<sup>185</sup>.

---

*sur le Manuel d'Epictète*, Leiden (Brill), 1995, p. 4-6, 62; Alain Galonnier, "Boèce et la connaissance divine des futurs contingents", in *Boèce ou la chaîne des saviors*, A. Galonnier (ed.), Louvain-Paris (Peeters), 2003, p. 571- 597.

<sup>183</sup> *Περὶ Πένθους* (*Peri Pénthous*, in Latin *De luctu*) by Κράντωρ Σολεύς (Krántor Soléús, \*ca. 330 to 270 BCE, disciple of Xenocrátis, †314 BCE); *Peri Pénthous*, a letter of condolence written by Κράντωρ to his friend Ἴπποκλῆς (Hippoclís) whose son had died, greatly influenced Cicero and several generations of Greek and Latin writers and philosophers. Krántor was one of the first philosophers to have written commentaries on the *Timaios* of Plato; Léon Robin, *La pensée grecque, et les origines de l'esprit scientifique*, Paris, 1923, p. 429-432.

<sup>184</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero (†43 BCE) *Consolatio de filiae morte*, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, †65), *Ad Marciam*, etc., Πλούταρχος ὁ Χαίρωνεύς (Plóútarchos o Chaironeús, †120) *Παραμυθικός πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα*, (*Consolation to his Wife*), cf. Wilhelm Kierdorf, "Consolatio as a literary genre", *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, Leiden (Brill), 2009; Idem, "Konsolutionsliteratur", *Der Neue Pauly* 6 (1999), 709-711; Manfred Kern, "Konsolutionsliteratur", *Der Neue Pauly* 14 (2000), 1079-1082; Peter von Moos, *Consolatio. Studien zur mittellateinischen Trostliteratur über den Tod und zum Problem der christlichen Trauer*, 4 Volumes, Munich, 1971-72; see also: Kevin Magarey, *The Bugbear and the Bottleneck*, Chapter V "A short History of the Consolation Part 1: Plato to Plutarch": <http://www.thebugbear.com/>.

<sup>185</sup> "Menippean satire" is a literary genre named after the Greek Cynic and satirist Μένιππος (Ménippos, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE). None of the six works of Ménippos have survived; he wrote in a *prosimetrum* style, combining prose and metric verse, using extensively the mode of satire and irony. He influenced several generations of Latin and Greek writers: Marcus Terentius Varro (†-27), *Saturarum Menippearum libri CL Fragmenta*; Λουκιανός ὁ Σαμοσατεύς (Lukianós o Samasoteús †180), *Περὶ Πένθους* (*On Grief and Mourning*); etc.; cf. Diogénis Laértios VI, ch. VIII, 99-101; R. Helm, *Lucian und Menipp*, Leipzig/Berlin, 1906; J. C. Relihan, *Ancient Menippean Satire*. Baltimore, 1993; reviewed by S. A. Nimis, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 94.01.13: <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/1994/94.01.13.html>; Peter Dronke, *Verse with Prose from Petronius to Dante. The Art and Scope of mixed form*, Cambridge, *opus*

The Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*<sup>186</sup>, just as its antecedents, uses the *prosimetrum* dialogue form, and situates itself in a long tradition of plurilingual and pluricultural *wisdom literatures*, whose principal themes correspond to the categories of philosophy mentioned above, and in particular to the first category: that is to say the wise management of happiness and suffering which conducts the soul up to the *Highest Good*, i.e.: τὰ ἀγαθὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα | *summum bonum* | *quattuor virtutes animae*.

(B) FLEURY-SUR-LOIRE • The *Scriptorium*-Library of the Abbey Fleury-sur-Loire<sup>187</sup>, situated at the south-western limits of *Neustria*,

---

*cit.*, see chapter I, Menippean Elements, p. 1-26; J. Marenbon, *Boethius*, Great Medieval Thinkers, New York, 2003, p. 97; H. D. Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered. From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, Baltimore, 2005; reviewed by J.-F. Vallée, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2007.01.40: <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2007/2007-01-40.html>; J. C. Relihan, *The Prisoner's Philosophy: Life and Death in Boethius's Consolation*. Notre Dame, Indiana, 2007; reviewed by J. Casey, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2009.04.77: <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2009/2009-04-77.html>; Cynthia R. Nielsen, "Sufficiency and Satire: Reading the *Consolation* through the Menippean Form", in *Per Caritatem*, June 30, 2008: <http://percaritatem.com/2008/06/30/part-3-sufficiency-and-satire-reading-the-consolation-through-the-menippean-form/>.

<sup>186</sup> *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Jacques Paul Migne (\*1800 – †1875), ed., Vol. 63, col. 0579 – 0870A: [http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z\\_04800524\\_Boethius\\_Severinus\\_De\\_Consolatione\\_Philosophiae\\_MLT.pdf.html](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_04800524_Boethius_Severinus_De_Consolatione_Philosophiae_MLT.pdf.html), Paris, 1882, 1891; James J. O'Donnell (ed.), *Boethius Consolatio Philosophiae*, 3 Volumes, Latin Commentaries Series, Thomas Library Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, 1984 / 1990; Ludwig Bieler (ed.), *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, CCSL (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*), XCIV, *Boethius, Opera*, 1, Turnhout, 1957 (revised edition 1984); Claudio Moreschini (ed.), *Boethius: De consolazione philosophiae, Opuscula theologica*, Munich, 2000; Joel C. Relihan Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, (English translation), Indianapolis, 2001.

<sup>187</sup> Fleury-sur-Loire, originally Sanctus Petrus Floriacensis under the rule of the Irish missionary Saint Columbanus (\*540-†615), then as of the year 660 Sanctus Benedictus Floriacensis under the rule of the Italian Saint Benedict of Nursia (\*480[?]-†547[?]), is called today Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. According to the "testament" de Leodebaldus abbot of St.-Aignan of Orléans (*ca.* 627), this monastery was founded in the village of Floriacum under the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Peter between the years 630 and 650 by a certain Iohannes (perhaps Iohannes the "negotiator": †*ca.* 625); the foundation of Fleury took place then between the reign of the Merovingian Kings

---

Dagobertus I (629-639) and Sigebertus III (630–656/660). Fleury is situated in the Region called Centre, in the diocese of Orléans, in Department of the Loiret, in the Arrondissement (administrative division) of Orléans (45000), in the Canton (administrative subdivision) of Ouzouer-sur-Loire (45570), and in the commune of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (45730), approximately 129 kilometers (*ca.* 70 miles) south of Paris, and 35 kilometers (*ca.* 21 miles) east of Orléans. Fleury, just as Saint-Martin of Tours, Saint-Denis (Paris), Saint-Riquier (Abbeville), Corbie, Saint-Amand, etc., was part of Charlemagne's royal cultural and political network of monasteries in *Neustria* called the *Ordo Palatii*; see Jean Heuclin, "Les abbés des monastères neustriens 650-850", in *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, H. Atsma (ed.), Vol. I, Sigmaringen (Thorbecke), p. 331, 334, 335, 337 ('L'Ordo Palatii' en Neustrie), p. 338 (Les Abbés du IX<sup>e</sup> s.), p. 339 (Les Abbés du VII<sup>e</sup> s.), p. 340 (Les Abbés du VIII<sup>e</sup> s.). Around the year 653, under the abbacy of Mummulus (632-663), Fleury is said to have received from the Italian monastery Montecassino the relics of Saint Benedict of Nursia as well as those of his sister Saint Scholastica. As of this period, the monastery became dedicated to Saint Benedict of Nursia, which would mark the beginning of its renown. Fleury would then evolve progressively into its first golden age of intellectual development particularly brilliant in the 9<sup>th</sup> century between the abbacies of Theodulphus (798-818) and that of Theodebertus (876-889[?]): cf. M. Prou, A. Vidier, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de S.-Benoît-sur-loire*, 2 vol., Paris, 1900-1937; J. Laporte, "Fleury", *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Volume 17, Paris, 1971, columns 441-476; M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury...*, p. 15-44. Among the best known Abbots of Fleury were: Mommulus (†678), Theodulf Bishop of Orléans (998-818), Odo of Cluny (930-942), Abbo (988-1004), Gauzlinus (1004-1030); at the French Revolution, Father Georges-Louis Phélypeaux was the last abbot of Fleury of the *Ancien Régime* (16<sup>th</sup> c.-18<sup>th</sup> c.), see M. Baunard, *Théodulfe, évêque d'Orléans et Abbé de Fleury-sur-Loire*, Orléans, 1860; Léon Auguste Maître, *Les écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe Auguste (768-1180)*, Paris, 1866; Georges Chenesseau, *L'Abbaye de Fleury à Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire. Son histoire, ses institutions, ses édifices*. Paris (G. Van Oest), 1931; Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, *Abbo Floriacensis. Questions grammaticales*, Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1982; Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A provisional list of Manuscripts*, Hilversum, (Middelleeuwse Studies en Bronnen III: i.e. Medieval Studies and Sources n° 3), Hilversum (Verloren Publishers), 1989, p. 15-44, 68: BF134, 161: BF733, 252: BF1313; Pierre Riché, *Abbon De Fleury - Un Moine Savant Et Combatif (Vers 950-1004)*, Turnhout (Brepols), 2004; Annie Dufour, Gillette Labory (eds.), *Abbon de Fleury, un abbé de l'an Mil* (Symposium held in Orléans and in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, June 10-12, 2004), Turnhout (Brepols), 2008: <http://www.irht.cnrs.fr/colloques/colloque-abbon-2004>; Adrian Papahagi, "The transmission of Boethius' *De Consolatione*

produced in the first quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, so it seems, the two oldest known copies of the *Boethii Consolatio Philosophiae*<sup>188</sup>. Indeed, as of the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Fleury became a center, where the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, as well as the sevenfold canon of the liberal arts were studied, taught, assimilated, and commented upon thanks primarily to Theodulf of Orléans<sup>189</sup>, who was named by Charlemagne in 797-798 Bishop of Orléans, abbot of Fleury-sur-Loire and of Saint-

---

*Philosophiae* in the Carolingian age”, in *Medium Aevum*, Spring-Summer 2009, pages 1-16.

<sup>188</sup> (1) Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 270 (olim 226), pages 1-299 (9<sup>th</sup> c.); see: Élisabeth Pellegrin, “Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières. À propos du ms. Orléans 162 (139) corrigé de sa main”, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, n° 115, 1957, p. 5-31; Élisabeth Pellegrin, *Bibliothèques retrouvées. Manuscrits, bibliothèques et bibliophiles du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, Paris, (CNRS), 1988, p. 131-157; Élisabeth Pellegrin, “La tradition des textes classiques latins à l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire”, in *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14-15, (1984-1985), p. 155-167 (cf. *Bibliothèques retrouvées*..., p. 285-297); F. Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute: La 'Consolatio Philosophiae' nell'alto medioevo (Medioevo e Umanesimo 42)*, Padua, 1981, p. 107-27, M. Mostert, *op. cit.*, p. 161: ¶BF733 [sic: Fleury, origin sure]; A. Papahagi, *op. cit.*, p. 5-7 (notes 76, 77, 78);

(2) Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Latin 3363, f. 2-60 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), see: M. Mostert, *op. cit.*, p. 252: ¶BF1313 [sic: Fleury, origin unsure]; A. Papahagi, p. 3, 11 (note 38); Diane K. Bolton, “The Study of the Consolation of Philosophy in Anglo-Saxon England”, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 44 (1977), p. 33-38; F. Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute*..., p. 139.

<sup>189</sup> Theodulf of Orléans (\*Spain [?], ca. 760 – †Angers [France] 821), cf. Theodulphus Aurelianensis episcopus, *Patrologia Latina*, 105, columns 0187A–0376D, Jacques Sirmond (ed.), Paris, 1646, *Theodulfi Carmina*. In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini medii aevi 1: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* (I), Ernst Dümmler (ed.), Berlin, 1881, S. 437–581; Lopetegui Semperena Guadalupe, “Teodulfo de Orléans y las artes liberales”, in *Veleia: Revista de prehistoria, historia antigua, arqueología y filología clásicas*, ISSN 0213-2095, 2003, n° 20, p. 459-473, Universidad del País Vasco, Instituto de Ciencias de la Antigüedad, Vitoria, Espagne, (1984); Abstract: “The aim of this paper is to comment [upon] a medieval poem called *De septem artibus liberalibus in quadam pictura depictis*, whose author, Theodulf of Orléans, was a bishop, politician, writer and, above all, the most eminent poet in [the] Carolingian Court. The poem's subject is an [allegorical] description of Wisdom and the Seven Liberal Arts, a [Leitmotiv] in medieval [iconography], [influenced by] writers such as Prudentius, [Martianus] Capella, or Boethius. Our purpose in this work is to go [deeply] into the symbolic interpretation of the images used, to set up the literary sources which have probably influenced the poem and to explain the author's opinion in relation to the role the Liberal Arts played in [the acquisition of] true wisdom, or vera sapientia”: <http://cat.inist.fr/?aModele=afficheN&cpsidt=15731351>; A. Papahagi, *op. cit.*, p. 5, 6.

Aignan d'Orléans. As of this period, in addition to its collection of pre-Carolingian manuscripts, the *scriptorium*-library of Fleury would endow itself with a first-rate collection of manuscripts covering an *ensemble* of fields, namely Latin literature, the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, history, historiography, liturgy, hagiography, monastic literature, and above all proto-philological copies of the *Vulgata*, the Latin version of the Bible by Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus (Saint Jerome, \*347-†420). The abbeys of Fleury, Micy (Department of the Loiret, Saint-Pryvé-Saint-Mesmin F-45750), Ferrières-en-Gâtinais (Department of the Loiret F-45210), and Auxerre (Department of the Yonne F-89000) were a close-knitted network of monasteries, whose manuscripts circulated freely between the *scriptoria*-libraries. The Carolingian minuscule script characteristic of this network of libraries was therefore very similar; one observes, for example, the frequent use of the ligatures: “ct”, “st”. Given this palaeographical similarity, it is often problematic to determine the precise provenance of certain 9<sup>th</sup>-century *codices* of this region<sup>190</sup>. It is useful here to note that in this same 9<sup>th</sup>-century network of *scriptoria*-libraries, one observes as well insular script from Great Britain-Ireland in certain manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts<sup>191</sup>.

<sup>190</sup> Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7297, Orléans, B. m. 293 (*olim* 247), Vaticano, BAV, Reginensis latinus 1638, etc.; Jean Vezin, “Leofnoth, un scribe anglais à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire”, in *Codices manuscripti*, Wien, 3. Jahrgang, 1977, Heft 4, p. 112(¶1); Bernhard Bischoff, *Paléographie de l'Antiquité romaine et du Moyen âge occidental*, French Translation: H. Atsma, J. Vezin, Paris, 1985, p. 128; [*Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Berlin (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), 1986; English Translation: D. ó Cróinín, D. Ganz, *Latin Palaeography. Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge (UK), 1990].

<sup>191</sup> Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Patr. 46 Q.VI.32 (*olim* A. 149), 9<sup>th</sup> c. (after 866), parchment, 189 mm x 154 mm, 45 folia, six *quaterniones* (quires | gatherings). This composite manuscript contains: f. 1-21v<sup>o</sup>: Boethii [*Opuscula sacra*], f. 22-27: Candidi arriani ad Marium Victorinum rhetorem de generatione diuina, f. 27v<sup>o</sup>-41: Marii Victorini rhetoris urbis romae ad Candidum arrianum, f. 41r<sup>o</sup> (in insular script): Hieronymi in prologo suorum trium librorum in epistolam ad galatas, f. 41v<sup>o</sup>-45v<sup>o</sup>: three homelies in Latin Stenography (tironian notes) attributed to Heiricus Autissiodorensis (Heiric of Auxerre, \*ca. 841 – †ca. 876): Dominico III in adventu domini euangelium secundum• Iohannem• Miserunt Iudaei ab Hierosolimis...•, Dominico XXII post pentecosten secundum Mathaeum• Abeuntes pharisaei...•, Dominico V post pentecosten secundum Mathaeum• Amen dico uobis...•. Judging from the forty 9<sup>th</sup>-century *notae sententiarum* (cross-reference signs: *supra*, p. 106), which accompany the text and glosses from f. 1v<sup>o</sup>: line 6 to f. 31: line 10, it is possible that part of this



(C) AUXERRE • The Carolingian School of Saint-Germain of Auxerre<sup>192</sup>, just as the its contemporary School, Fleury-sur-Loire, was a part of the *Ordo Palatii*, that is to say the royal-imperial network of Carolingian monastic centres of learning. Just as Saint-Martin of Tours, and Fleury, Auxerre had very close ties with the Anglo-Saxon *Tradition of Knowledge* dating back four generations to the Venerable Bede (†735), Ægberht (†ca. 766-767), Ælberht (†ca. 780-781), Alcuinus (\*ca. 730-735 – †Tours, 804). Indeed, the School of Auxerre owes its renown, directly and indirectly, to two generations of Carolingian masters of Anglo-Saxon lineage such as the grammarian Murethach (Muridac, Muiredach)<sup>193</sup>, the liberal arts master Martinus Hiberniensis<sup>194</sup>, the

---

codex was written in Rheims (France-51100, Champagne-Ardenne, Marne). Indeed, the *notae sententiarum* of Bamberg, Patr. 46 Q.VI.32 are very similar to those of Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 2445 (9<sup>th</sup> c.), whose origin, according to the *ex-libris* on f. 23v<sup>o</sup>, appears to be the monastery of Hautvilliers (France-51180, Marne, Arrondissement Reims [Rheims], Canton Ay): “Liber sancti Petri Apli[–] et sancti Niuardi Archiepiscopi Alt[i]uillaris monasterii”; Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 2445 was corrected by the hand of Iohannes Scottus Eriugena (f. 1): “Liber Iohannis Scoti correctus a Prudentio• siue a ceteris patribus• uidelicet a Gregorio Hieronimo Fulgentio• atque Augustino•”. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Patr. 46 Q.VI.32, then, is a very important Boethian codex from the Auxerre tradition; see the proto-philological study of this manuscript by Illo Humphrey, “Trois homélies attribuées à Heiric, moine de Saint-Germain d’Auxerre. Leur écriture en notes tironiennes. Manuscrit Bamberg patristique 46 Q.VI, 32”, in *Bulletin de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l’Yonne*, n° 13, année 1996, pp. 25-46 (11 Plates).

<sup>192</sup> School of Saint-Germain of Auxerre: cf. D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy, G. Lobrichon (eds.), *L’École carolingienne d’Auxerre de Murethach à Rémi 830-908*, Entretiens d’Auxerre 1989, Paris (Éditions Beauchesne), 1991.

<sup>193</sup> Murethach [Muridac, Muiredach] Autissiodorensis (†ca. 845-855), grammarian at the School of Auxerre: cf. Louis Holtz, Murethach (Muridac). In *Donati artem maiorem*, edidit Ludovicus Holtz, Turnholt (Brepols), 1977; Louis Holtz, “Murethach et l’influence de la culture irlandaise à Auxerre”, in *L’École carolingienne d’Auxerre de Murethach à Rémi 830-908*, p. 146-156.

<sup>194</sup> Martinus Hiberniensis (Martin of Laon, †ca. 875): cf. J. J. Contreni, “John Scottus, Martin Hiberniensis, the Liberal Arts, and Teaching”, in *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550-1066*, (*Papers in Mediaeval Studies*, 1), ed. M. W. Herren, Toronto, (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies), 1981, p. 23-44, reprinted in *Variorum*, Hampshire (G.B.), 1992, ch. VI, p. 1-17, and p. 18-22



philosopher Iohannes Scottus Eriugena<sup>195</sup>, along with the *Neustrian* master Lupus Servatus Ferrariensis<sup>196</sup>, and to their disciples educated in the territory of *Neustria* at the School of Saint-Germain of Auxerre, namely: Haimo Autissiodorensis<sup>197</sup>, Heiricus Autissiodorensis<sup>198</sup>, Remigius Autissiodorensis<sup>199</sup>.

---

<sup>195</sup> Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: cf. R. Roques (ed.), *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, (Colloquium of the CNRS n° 561 held in Laon, France-02000, 7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> of July, 1975), Paris, 1977; J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life & Thought, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, Vol. 15, Cambridge (UK) | New York, 1981, Chapter 4: The Circle of John Scottus Eriugena, p. 88-115; [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/Iohannes\\_s\\_e.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/Iohannes_s_e.shtml); <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/eriugenabibl.html>; (cf. *supra*, note 89).

<sup>196</sup> Lupus Servatus Ferrariensis (Lupus Servatus of Ferrières, \*ca. 805-†ca. 862): cf. C. H. Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières, as scribe and text critic. A Study of his Autograph Copy of Cicero's De oratore*, Cambridge (USA), 1930; Idem, "Lupus of Ferrières and Hadoard", in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (July, 1948), p. 190-191; E. Pellergrin, *Bibliothèques retrouvées...*, "Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières...", p. 131-157; (*supra*, n. 188).

<sup>197</sup> Haimo [Haymo, Aimō] Autissiodorensis (\*ca. 790 [?] – †ca. 865-875 [?]), student of Muretach at Saint-Germain of Auxerre: cf. R. Quadri, *Aimone de Auxerre alla luce dei Collectanea di Heiric di Auxerre*, Antenore (Padova), 1962; J. Contreni, "Haimo of Auxerre, abbot of *Sasceium* (Cessy-les-Bois) and a new Sermon of John, V. 4-10", *Revue bénédictine*, 85 (1975), p. 303-320; D. Iogna-Prat, "L'œuvre d'Haymon d'Auxerre", in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre...*, p. 157-179; J. J. Contreni, "Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary on Ezechiel", *Ibid.* p. 229-242; [http://www.sources-chretiennes.mom.fr/upload/doc/bibliographie\\_Haymon.pdf](http://www.sources-chretiennes.mom.fr/upload/doc/bibliographie_Haymon.pdf).

<sup>198</sup> Heiricus Autissiodorensis (†ca. 875-883), student of John Scottus Eriugena, Lupus, Haimo: cf. E. Jeaneau, "Heiric d'Auxerre disciple de Jean Scot", in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre...*, p. 353-370; I. Humphrey, "Trois homélies attribuées à Heiric, moine de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre. Leur écriture en notes tironiennes. Manuscrit Bamberg patristique 46 Q.VI, 32", cf. *supra*, note 191; F.W. Bautz, 2009: [http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/heiricus\\_v\\_a.shtml](http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/heiricus_v_a.shtml).

<sup>199</sup> Remigius Autissiodorensis (\*841 – †ca. 908) was a student of Lupus Servat of Ferrières and Heiricus of Auxerre: cf. C. Jeudy, "L'œuvre de Rémi d'Auxerre. État de la question", in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre...*, p. 373-397; M. Balzuhn, 2006: [http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/r/remigius\\_v\\_au.shtml](http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/r/remigius_v_au.shtml).

Remigius of Auxerre is the author of glosses on the Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*<sup>200</sup>, as well as glosses on the Boethii *Opuscula Sacra*<sup>201</sup>.

**(D) *Boeci(s)*: anonymous Occitan translation in verse of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* •**

The *Boeci(s)*, an anonymous Occitan poem in assonanced decasyllabic verse with *cæsura* (4+6) inspired by the Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, is the oldest known literary text in the Occitan language<sup>202</sup>,

<sup>200</sup> C. Jeudy, “Remigii autissiodorensis opera (Clavis)”, in *L’École carolingienne d’Auxerre...*, p. 485-488. This Clavis indicates 51 manuscripts containing glosses by Remigius on the Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*; here are a few of the said: (1) Alençon, Médiathèque de la Communauté urbaine, 12.II, 10<sup>th</sup> c., glosses: 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c., glosses by Robert de Prumelai of Saint-Évroult Notre-Dame-du-Bois en Pays d’Ouche (F-61550, Orne, Normandie); (2) Bern, Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, 179, 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1-63v°, glosses of the 10<sup>th</sup> c., origin France-West; (3) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 6769, f. 1v°-54r°, 10<sup>th</sup> c., glosses 10<sup>th</sup> c., origin France; (4) Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 845, end of 9<sup>th</sup> c., p.158-68, glosses 10<sup>th</sup> c. Book III, Metrum 9, origin Sankt Gallen, etc.

<sup>201</sup> C. Jeudy, “Remigii autissiodorensis opera (Clavis)”, in *L’École carolingienne d’Auxerre...*, p. 474-475. This Clavis indicates 24 manuscripts containing glosses by Remigius on the Boethii *Opuscula sacra*; here are a few of the said: (1) Bern, Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, 510, end of 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1-17v°, *Opuscula sacra* II-III, beginning of *Opuscula sacra* IV, glosses long version; (2) Bern, Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, A 517, f 1-22v°, *Opuscula sacra* IV, and end of *Opuscula sacra* V, glosses in part in Latin stenography, beginning of *Opuscula sacra* IV, glosses short version, origin Auxerre [?] via Fleury [?] or Micy [?]; (3) Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 270 (226), 9<sup>th</sup> c., p. 231-316, glosses short version, origin Fleury-sur-Loire, scribe: Albinus; (4) Paris, BnF, Fonds latin, 12949, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c., f. 53-62, glosses short version, origin Corbie [?], via Saint-Germain-des-Près (Paris), etc.

<sup>202</sup> Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, “*Boeci(s)*. Le plus ancien texte de littérature en langue romane, inspiré de la *Consolatio philosophiae* de Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II - 2006 Boèce* ([Boethius], Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, 524): *l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, p. 315-336. **Nota bene:** The oldest known written text in Occitan language is recorded in the *Oaths of Strasburg* (*Sacramenta Argentariae* | *Sacramenta Strazburgi* | *Serments de Strasbourg* | *Strassburger Eide*), dating from Tuesday, the 14<sup>th</sup> of February, 842, conserved in one unique manuscript source, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin, 9768, 10<sup>th</sup> century; cf. *supra*, note 72: Illo Humphrey, “Quelques observations sur les Serments de Strasbourg et sur le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

and one of the oldest interpretations of the Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae* into a vernacular language. The versification of the *Boeci(s)* in decasyllabic meters is divided into 23 “*laisses*”, versification which prefigures the *chansons de geste* put into vogue by the Occitan troubadours as of the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>203</sup>. The work is written in the limousine-périgourdine dialect of the Occitan language, it dates from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and was composed, so it seems, in Aquitania (Southwest France) at the monastery of Saint-Martial of Limoges. According to all known research to this day, the text is conserved in only one unique manuscript source<sup>204</sup>. The *Boeci(s)* poem is composed of 258 verses, of which the last *laisse* was interrupted at the end of the manuscript<sup>205</sup>. Here are, from the edition by G. Brunel-Lobrichon, 4 representative excerpts from the *Boeci(s)*: *laisses* 1, 15, 22 and 23<sup>206</sup>.

---

France, Latin 9768”, in *Bulletin de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne*, n° 16, juin 1999, p. 25-46 (11 Plates).

**Nota bene:** After the *Boeci(s)*, the next oldest known Occitan literary text is the *Cançó or Cançon de Santa Fe* (*Song of Saint Faith of Agen*), cf. Antoine Thomas (1857-1935), ed., *La chanson de Sainte Foi d'Agen: poème provençal du XIe siècle*, facsimile, translation, notes, glossary, based on the manuscript of Leiden, Is. Vossius *codex Latinus* oct. No. 60, Paris, 1925, Paris (Champion), 1974.

<sup>203</sup> Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, “Boeci(s)...”, p. 322.

<sup>204</sup> Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 444 (*olim* 374), parchment, 11<sup>th</sup> century, origin Fleury-sur-Loire, *Boeci(s)*, p. 261-275: assonanced decasyllabic Occitan poem, segmented into 23 *laisses*, and written in long lines (i. e. in one column). This composite codex, as most of the Fleury manuscripts, is paginated, and not foliotated, from page 1 to page 275; it is for the most part a Latin manuscript, containing the Old Testament books of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, patristic sermons dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, portions of the liturgical Office of Christmas, at page 261 a Latin sermon dedicated to the All Saints Day liturgy covering six lines; the *Boeci(s)* occupies the very last *quaternion* (quire, or gathering), that is to say the last 8 folios (the last 16 pages) of the manuscript. An 18<sup>th</sup>-century *ex-libris* on the 4th flyleaf of the manuscript indicates that it was for 400 years a part of the Fleury Library; the binding dates from the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century; Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, “Boeci(s)...”, p. 319, 320.

<sup>205</sup> Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, “Boeci(s)...”, The end of the *codex* shows signs of wear and mutilation, which explains the interrupted state of the poem as of the *laisse* 23, p. 323.

<sup>206</sup> Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, “Boeci(s)...”, see complete critical edition and French translation: p. 327-333.

**Laisse 1**

1 *Nos jove omne, quandius que nos estam,*  
longtemps que nous le sommes,  
*de gran follia per folledat parllam,*  
follement, car nous  
*quar no nos membra per cui viuri esperam,*  
nous vient l'espoir de vivre,  
*qui nos soste tan quan per terra annam*  
nous demeurons sur la terre  
*e qui nos pais que no murem de fam,*  
de mourir de faim,  
*per cui salv esmes, per pur tan que.ll clamam.*  
pour peu que nous l'invoquions.

**Laisse 15**

*Cum jaz Boecis e pena charceral,*  
tourmente carcérale,  
*plan se sos dols e sos menuz pecaz.*  
ses nombreux péchés,  
**160** *d'una donzella fo lainz visitaz.*  
demoiselle.  
*Filla.s al rei qui a gran poestat,*  
grande puissance  
*ella.s ta bella, reluz ent lo palaz;...*  
est illuminé !...

**Laisse 22**

*Bella.s la domna e granz, perc o sedenz:*  
drapée de soie bleu foncé:  
*no vist donzella de son evaiment.*  
son audace.  
*Ella.s ardida, si.s foren soi parent.*  
ses parents.  
*E sa ma dextra, la domna u libre te,*  
tient un livre,  
*toz aquel libres era de fog ardent:*  
ardent:  
*zo.s la justicia al rei omnipotent.*  
puissant.  
*Si l'om forfai e pois no se.n repen*  
ensuite ne s'en repent pas  
**250** *et evers Deu no.n faz'amendament,*  
réparation,  
*quora que.s vol, ab aquel fog l'encent,*  
feu l'enflamme,  
*ab aquel fog se.n pren so vengament.*  
vengeance.

**Laisse 1**

1 Nous, jeunes gens, aussi  
par grande folie nous parlons  
ne nous souvenons pas de qui  
lui qui nous soutient tant que  
et qui nous nourrit pour nous éviter  
par qui nous sommes sauvés,

**Laisse 15**

Comme Boèce gît dans la  
qu'il gémit sur sa douleur et  
**160** il fut alors visité par une  
Elle est fille du roi qui a  
elle est si belle : le palais en

**Laisse 22**

Belle est la dame et noble,  
on ne vit pas de demoiselle de  
Elle est ardente, comme furent  
Dans sa main droite, la dame  
tout ce livre était de feu  
c'est la justice du roi tout  
Si l'homme commet un forfait,  
**250** et envers Dieu ne fait pas  
au moment où elle veut, de ce  
avec ce feu, prend sa

<i>Cel bona i vai qui amor ab lei pren,</i>	Celui-là va heureusement, qui
<i>se prend d'amour pour elle,</i>	
<i>qui be la ama e per bontat la te:</i>	qui l'aime bien et de grande
<i>valeur la considère:</i>	
<i>quan se reguarda, bo merite l'en rent.</i>	quand il est préoccupé, elle lui
<i>en rend bonne récompense.</i>	

**Laisse 23**

*El ma senestre, ten u sceptrum reial,* Dans la main gauche, elle tient un sceptre royal,  
*zo significa justici[a] corporal* ce qui signifie justice corporelle  
*de pec //...* de péc[hé]...

**Laisse 23**

The modern *proto-philological* research on this monument of Occitan literature spans a period of approximately six generations; among the specialists on this question we have: François-Juste-Marie Raynouard (1761-1836), Ernesto Monaci (1844-1918), Nicola Zingarelli (1860-1935), Clovis Brunel (1884-1971), Christoph Schwarze, Ulrich Mölk, Lucia Lazzerini, Glynnis M. Cropp, Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, etc.<sup>207</sup>. The anonymous Occitan *Boeci(s)* is indeed a milestone in

<sup>207</sup> Bibliography on the Occitan *Boeci(s)*: François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, 6 Volumes, Paris, 1816-1821, cf. t. II, p. CXXXV; E. Monaci, *Facsimili di antichi manoscritti*, Rome, 1881-1892, pl. 33-39; N. Zingarelli, "Il Boezio provenzale e la leggenda di Boezio". *Rendiconti dell' Istituto lombardo academia di scienze e lettere*, ser. II., Vol. LIII (1920), p. 193-221; Clovis Brunel, *Bibliographie des manuscrits littéraires en ancien provençal*, Paris, 1935, reprint. Genève, Slatkine, 1973, n°130; R. Lavaud et G. Machicot (eds.), *Boecis, Poème sur Boèce (fragment)*, Toulouse, 1950, p. 9-10; Christoph Schwarze (ed.), *Der altprovenzalische "Boeci"*, Münster, 1963 (Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie, 12) p. 7-8; D'A. S. Avalle, *I manoscritti della letteratura in lingua d'oc*, Lino Leonardi (ed.), Torino, Einaudi, 1993, p. 12; Ulrich Mölk, *Plan- und Kunstsprachen auf romanischer Basis II. Altokzitanisch*, in *Revue des Langues Romanes*, VII (1998), p. 687-698 ; R. Lavaud et G. Machicot (eds.), *Boecis, Poème sur Boèce (fragment)*, Toulouse, 1950; Lucia Lazzerini, *Letteratura medievale in lingua d'oc*, Modena, Mucchi Editore, 2001, p. 34-37; <http://archive.ifla.org/VII/s13/pubs/AnonymousClassics2004.pdf>: International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition revised, cf. *Occitan literature*, p. 150-154; <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/miroir/boece/traduction/?para=anonyme>: École nationale des Chartes, *Miroir des classiques*, Frédéric Duval, Françoise Vieillard; Glynnis M. Cropp, "The Occitan Boecis, the Medieval French Tradition of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* and Philosophy's Gown", in *Études de langue et de littérature médiévales offertes à Peter T. Ricketts*, D. Billy, A. Buckley (eds.), Turnhout, 2005, p. 255-266; Glynnis M. Cropp (ed.), *Le Livre de*

Boethian literature in particular, and in the tradition of *wisdom literature* in general. It reveals once again the universality of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, as well as the universality of the literary genre *consolatio* itself. Thus, as mentioned above, the Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, and the genre *consolatio*, are fruits emanating directly from the categorie of philosophy that deals with one of the most fundamental aspects of human existence, namely the wise management of happiness and suffering, which leads mind, soul, and body up to the *Highest Good*, the *summum bonum*.

### (E) Synoptic Chart – Hagiography of Severinus Boethius •

The veneration of Severinus Boethius as a local saint and martyr seems to have begun in the geographical triangle Pavia – Milano – Brescia shortly following his death in the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, as our synoptic chart clearly shows, the earliest known hagiographical and historical testimonies concerning Boethius, namely the *Liber pontificalis*<sup>208</sup>, and the *Anonymus Valesianus II* or *Excerpta Valesiana II*<sup>209</sup>, are dated between the years a. D. 523 and a. D.

---

*Boece de Consolacion*, édition critique, *Textes littéraires français*, 580, Genève (Droz), 2006, 480 pages; Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, “Boeci(s). Le plus ancien texte de littérature en langue romane, inspiré de la *Consolatio philosophiae* de Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, p. 315-336.

<sup>208</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> century a. D., 523-526 • *Liber Pontificalis*, L. Duchesne (ed), vol. I, page 275, Paris, 1886, cf. notice LV: Iohannes [Ier]: [anno] 523-526: “Theodoricus rex hereticus tenuit suos senatores præclaros et ex consules, Symmachum et Boethium, et occidit interficiens gladio. Eodem tempore reverentes Iohannes venerabilis papa et senatores cum gloria, dum omnia obtinuissent a Iustino augusto, rex Theodoricus hereticus cum grande dolo et odio suscepit eos, id est papam Iohannem et senatores, quos etiam gladio volui interficere...”.

<sup>209</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> century a. D., 526 - 550 • *Anonymus Valesianus II* or *Excerpta Valesiana II*, ed. Henri de Valois, seigneur d’Orcé, *Editio et annotatio excerpta autores ignoti de Constantio Chlora, Constantino Magno et aliis impp.*, ab Henrico Valesio primum edita et Ammiano Marcellino conjuncta, Paris, 1636 / Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1664; Th. Mommsen, *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi IX, Chronica minora*, Berlin, 1892, p. 333 § 85-87, 92; ed. J. Moreau, 1<sup>st</sup> edition Leipzig, 1961, p. 24-26, §85-92; 2<sup>e</sup> edition revised by V. Velkov, Leipzig, 1968, p. 25, §87: “Tunc Albinus et Boethius ducti in custodiam ad baptisterium ecclesiae. Rex [i.e. Theodoricus] vero vocavit Eusebium, praefectum urbis, Ticinum et inaudito Boethio protulit in eum sententiam. Quem mox in agro Calventiano, ubi in custodia habebatur, misere fecit occidi. Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi eius creparent, sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur”.

550. Then, in the fourth quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, we have as well the testimony of Marius, Bishop of Avenches<sup>210</sup>, and subsequently as of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, are conserved at regular intervals pertinent hagiographical testimonies on Severinus Boethius.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Source :	<b>Liber Pontif.</b> <i>Chronie.</i>	<b>Anonym. Vales. II</b> <i>Chronie.</i>	<b>Marius Avenic.</b> <i>Chronie.</i>	<b>Agnellus Ravenn.</b> <i>Chronie.</i>	<b>Ado Vales.</b> <i>Chronie.</i>	<b>Ado Martyr.</b>	<b>Gerbert Aureliac.</b> <i>Carmen</i>	<b>Herm. Contrac.</b> <i>Chronie.</i>	<b>Otto Frising.</b> <i>Chronie.</i>	<b>Theodor. Epierma.</b> <i>Chronie.</i>
Date →	523-526	526-550	573-594	839-846	ca. 860	aft. 865	bef. 1003	bef. 1054	ca. 1136	ca. 1191
Death of Boethius	Anno [524] ?	Anno [524] ?	Anno 524	Anno 522	Anno 519			Anno 524	Anno 524	Anno 524
Eulogy of → Boethius						V Kal Iunii				
Source :	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	<b>Opicino de Cani.</b> <i>Chronie.</i>	<b>Petrus Calo.</b> <i>Legend.</i>	<b>Mauro I. Martyr.</b>	<b>Rouge-Cloître.</b> <i>Passion.</i>	<b>Ferrari Martyr.</b>	<b>Ferrari Martyr.</b>	<b>AA. SS. t. VI mai.</b>	<b>AA. SS. t. X oct.</b>	<b>Peiper Con. Phil.</b> <i>Introd.</i>	<b>E. H. L. suppl. 70</b>
Date →	ca. 1330	bef. 1348	1568	Copy : 17 <sup>th</sup> c.	1613	1625	1688	1861	1871	1986
Death of Boethius				Anno 521	Anno 526	Anno 526			Anno 524	
Eulogy of → Boethius			V Kal Iunii				VI Kal Iunii			
Eulogy of → Boethius			X Kal Nouemb.	X Kal Nouemb.	X Kal Nouemb.	X Kal Nouemb.		X Kal Nouemb.		X Kal Nouemb.

© *Descriptio XI*: Synoptic Chart | Hagiography of Severinus Boethius •  
(Chronica – Martyrologia – Carmina – Legendaria – Passionaria – Vitæ)<sup>211</sup>

<sup>210</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> century a. D., 573-594 • Marius, Episcopus Aventicensis (Marius, Bishop of Avenches: born ca. 530 in Marsannay-la-Côte, France-21160, Department of Côte d'Or, Bishop of Avenches, Kanton Waadt [Vaud]: Suisse Romande, ca. 573-574, died December 31, 593 ou 594, *Chronicon*, Th. Mommsen (ed.), *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi XI, Chronica minora* s. IV-VII, vol. II, Berlin, 1894, p. 234, 235: p. 234: "A[nno] 524. Eo anno interfectus est Boetius patricius in territorio Mediolanense.", "A[nno] 526. His cons. occisus est Symmachus patricius Ravennae."; cf. Justin Favrod, *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches*, 1991; C. Santschi, "La Chronique de l'évêque Marius d'Avenches", in *Review Historique Vaudoise*, 1968, 17-34, see: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F12781.php>; see also: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/m/marius\\_b\\_v\\_a.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/m/marius_b_v_a.shtml).

<sup>211</sup> *Descriptio XI* – **Nota bene**: This hagiographic synoptic chart on Severinus Boethius was conceived and elaborated by Illo Humphrey in July, 2001.

[1] 6<sup>th</sup> century a. D., 523-526 • *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886, Vol. I, page 275, cf. notice LV: Iohannes [Ier]: [anno] 523-526.

[2] 6<sup>th</sup> century a. D., 526-550 • *Anonymus Valesianus II* or *Excerpta Valesiana II*, *Editio et annotatio excerpta autores ignoti de Constantio Chloro, Constantino Magno et aliis imp.*, ab Henrico Valesio [Henri de Valois,

seigneur d'Orcé] primum edita et Ammiano Marcellino conjuncta, Paris, 1636, Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1664; Th. Mommsen (ed.), *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi IX, Chronica minora*, Berlin, 1892, p. 333 § 85-87, 92; J. Moreau (ed.), 1<sup>ère</sup> édition Leipzig, 1961, p. 24-26, §85-92; 2<sup>e</sup> édition revised by V. Velkov, Leipzig, 1968, p. 25, §87).

[3] 6<sup>th</sup> century a. D., 573-594 • Marius, Episcopus Aventicensis (Marius, Bishop of Avenches: born ca. 530 à Marsannay-la-Côte, France-21160 in the Department of Côte d'Or, Bishop of Avenches, Kanton Waadt [canton de Vaud]: Suisse Romande, ca. 573-574, died Decembre 31, 593 ou 594), *Chronicon*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi XI, Chronica minora* s. IV – VII, vol. II, Berlin, 1894, p. 234, 235: p. 234; cf. Justin Favrod, *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches*, 1991; C. Santschi, "La Chronique de l'évêque Marius d'Avenches", in *Revista Historica. Valladolid (RHV)*, 1968, 17-34; see also: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/m/marius\\_b\\_v\\_a.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/m/marius_b_v_a.shtml).

[4] 9<sup>th</sup> century, 839 - 846 [?] • AGNELLUS (Andreas) (\*805, Bishop of Ravenna 839-846), (ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH, Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saeculi VI-IX*, Hannover, 1878, p. 304: 6, 7).

[5] 9<sup>th</sup> century • Ado (sanctus), Archiepiscopus Viennensis (\*800 - †16 décembre 875), *Chronicon in aetates sex divisum*, ed. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 123, col. 107, Aetas sexta, [anno] 519.

[6] 9<sup>th</sup> century, 865 • Ado (sanctus), Archiepiscopus Viennensis (\*800 - †16 December 875), *Martyrologe*, ed. J. Dubois and G. Renaud, Paris CNRS, 1984, p. XII-XXVI, p. 172.

[7] 10<sup>th</sup> century • Gerbert of Aurillac (†1003), cf. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1093, 10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 117v<sup>o</sup>; ed. K. Strecker, in *MGH, Poetae latini*, Vol. V, Leipzig, 1937, p. 474-475; P. Bourgain, "L'hommage de Gerbert à Boèce", in *Autour de Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil*, ed. O. Guyotjeannin et E. Poulle, Paris (École nationale des Chartes), 1996, p. 297-229.

[8] 11<sup>th</sup> century • Hermannus Contractus Augiensis Monachus (†1054), *Chronicon* s. I – s. XI, cf. *Hermann Contracti Chronicon* s. VI, ed.. J.-P. Migne, *P.L.*, t. 143, col. 110, [anno] 524.

[9] 12<sup>th</sup> century • Otto Episcopus Frisingensis (\*1111–1114, sojourn in Paris in 1122, cistercian monk at Morimond [Fresnoy-en-Bassigny, France-52400 Haute Marne] in 1126, Abbot of Morimond in 1136, Bishop of Freising in 1138, crusader and writes Chronicle in 1147, †22 September, 1158 at Morimond, *Chronicon Libri VIII*, cf. Liber V, §1, §2: "...ubi de contemptu mundi philosophicum utile valde scripsit opus..."; ed. R. Williams, *MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, vol. XX, Hannover, 1868, p. 214: 38 à p. 215, §2, [anno] 524 .

[10] 12<sup>th</sup> century • Theodoricus Monachus (ca. 1191), *Chronicon Epternacense Libri II*, ed. L. Weiland, *MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, VOL. XXIII, Hannover, 1874, Liber I, p. 41 §6 : 30, [anno] 524: "...ubi et librum de consolatione phylosophiae dictavit...".



[11] 14<sup>th</sup> century, 1330 • Opicino de Canistris (\*Lomello, 1296, in Pavia in 1323, 1329 in the pontifical court of Avignon, †after 1352), l'*Anonimo Ticinese*, ed. Faustino Gianani, l'*"Anonimo Ticinese" e la sua descrizione di Pavia* (Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, codex Palatinus latinus 1993), Pavia, 1926, 2<sup>e</sup> ed., 1976, p. 193.

[12] 14<sup>th</sup> century • Petrus Calo de Clugiensis O. P. (*alias*: Pierre Calo, Pierre de Chioggia, Petrus de Clugia, Petrus Scalo de Clausia, Petrus Calo de Culgia[sic], †ca. 1348), *Legendarium*, notice 761, ed. P. Poncelet, "Le légendier de Pierre Calo", in *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. 29, 1910, notice 761, p. 100; cf. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (BHL): 9039.

[13] 16<sup>th</sup> century • Maurolycus (Franciscus) (Francesco Maurolico), *Martyrologium reverentis domini Francisci Maurolyci abbatis Messanensis: Venetiis*, in officina Lucae Antonii Iuntae, M<sup>o</sup>D<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup> (1568), cf. 28<sup>th</sup> May (eulogy of Pope Jean I) and 23<sup>rd</sup> October (eulogy of Severinus Boethius: "Papiae Severini Boetii philosophi, ac theologi celeberrimi, a Theodorico tyranno proscripti, ac deinde in vinculis interfecti; cum prius Symmachum socerum similiter peremptum, amisisset...").

[14] 16<sup>th</sup> century • Coens (Maurice), "Un manuscrit perdu de Rouge-Cloître, décrit d'après les notes d'Héribert Rosweyde [1569-1629] et d'Aubert le Mire [1573-1640]", in *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 78, 1960, p. 53-83, cf. p. 71-72, et p. 72: note 3. Notice based on the lost manuscript of Rouge-Cloître ("*ex manuscripto Rubeae Vallis*" [sic]); cf. Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, manuscript on paper 8919 (17<sup>th</sup> c., dimensions: 326 mm x 210 mm), f. 88r<sup>o</sup>, X<sup>o</sup> kalendas novembris, i.e. 23 octobre: "...librum edidit De consolatione philosophiae..."; cf. J. van den Ghyen, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Vol. V, *Histoire – Hagiographie*, Bruxelles, 1905, p. 501.

[15] 17<sup>th</sup> century • Ferrari (F. Filippo Ferrari Alessandrino), *Catalogus Sanctorum Italiae in menses duodecim distributus*. Mediolani, apud Hieronymum Bordonium, M.D.C.XIII. (1613); cf. Index sanctorum: "Severinus Boetius martyr Ticini. 23 octobris, corpus in ecclesia s. Petri Coeli Aurei", p. 663.

[16] 17<sup>th</sup> century • Ferrari (F. Filippo Ferrari Alessandrino), *Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum*, qui in martyrologio romano non sunt..., Venetiis, apud Io. Guerilium. M<sup>o</sup>DC<sup>o</sup>XXV<sup>o</sup> (1625); cf. Index sanctorum: "Severinus Boetius martyr Papias 23 octobris", cf. p. 415, Octobris.

[17] 17<sup>th</sup> century • *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, Vol. VI, ed. Daniel van Papenbroeck, Antverpiae, 1688, die XXVII maii [VI<sup>o</sup> kalendas iunias], p. 702-710, cf. p. 704, caput II: "Symmachi et Boetii hoc tempus vexatorum laus huius etiam capitivitas et scripta in carcere", column 2 (§12), p. 706, caput III: "SS. Severini Boetii et Joannis [I] papae mors atque cultus", col. 2, p. 707, caput III, col. 2 (§ 24), p. 707c: Boethius epitaph in verse.

In closing this chapter on the genre *consolatio*, it is useful, through the reading of the above synoptic chart, to pass in review the hagiographic literature concerning Boethius. It is also useful to signal that there are certain hagiographic sources, in which no mention is made whatsoever of Severinus Boethius, neither on *sexto* nor *quinto kalendas Iunias* (the 27<sup>th</sup> or the 28<sup>th</sup> of May: feast of Pope John I), nor on *decimo kalendas novembres* (23<sup>rd</sup> of October: feast of Severinus Boethius)<sup>212</sup>.

---

[18] 19<sup>th</sup> century • *Acta Sanctorum* Octobris, Vol. X, ed. J. van Hecke, B. Boussue, V. de Buck, E. Carpentier, Bruxelles, 1861, p. 3, col. 1 (§ B et C): s. Boethius seu Severinus (*die XXIII octobris*, 23<sup>rd</sup> of October).

[19] 19<sup>th</sup> century • Peiper (Rudolf), ed. *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis libri quinque* (p. 1-146, *accedunt eiusdem atque incertorum Opuscula sacra* (p. 149-163), Leipzig, 1871, p. XXXV: “Boetius autem honorifice tumulatus est papie in cripta ecclesie• et uocatur sanctus severinus• a prouintiabilibus• quod ei prenomen fuit•”. this citation by Peiper, comes from a *vita* conserved in the a marginal gloss of the manuscript Wrocław [Breslau] (Pologne), Bibliotheca Rhedigeriana, St.-Elizabeth (i. e. Bibliotheka Uniwersytecka), S I, 4, 3 (13<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 32v<sup>o</sup>.

[20] 20<sup>th</sup> century • *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, novum supplementum*, (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, n° 70), ed. Heinrich Fros, Bruxelles, 1986, cf. p. 781-782, Severinus Boethius, †524 – oct. 23.

<sup>212</sup> The hagiographical sources which contain no eulogy whatsoever on Severinus Boethius are as follows:

(a) Martyrologium of the Venerable Bede (\*England, Wearmouth, 673-†Jarrow, 735),

(b) Anonymus of Lyon; the Martyrologium of Florus, 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> century,

(c) Martyrologium of Usuard (858 et 863[?]), (Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Près, †January 13, 877),

(d) Martyrologium in verse of Wandelbertus of Prüm (\*ca. 813 – †ca. 870), written circa 848, the Martyrologium romanum, published in 1584 during le pontificat of the Pope pape Gregoory XIII,

(e) *Lignum Vitae* of Dom Arnold Wion, OSB, published in Venice in 1595; cf Illo Humphrey, “Boèce: l’homme, la carrière, le destin, prosopographie, hagiographie, culte et veneration”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Vol. I, p. 49-112, cf. p. 74-91, Bibliography of hagiographic sources: p. 480-493.

## Conclusion

This historical study on the text, glosses, commentaries of the Boethii *Consolatione Philosophiae*, coupled with the hagiographic study on Severinus Boethius as saint and martyr, is designed (a) to simply remind us that the *Consolatione Philosophiae* situates itself in a long-standing tradition of wisdom literature, whose role is to assist mankind in the wise management of happiness and suffering, (b) to help better understand the veneration of Boethius as a local saint, which, as we have seen in the above hagiographic synoptic chart, spans a period of one thousand one hundred years from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, even though the death of Severinus Boethius was commemorated at an early date in the modern-day territory of northern Belgium and in northern Italy, the local feast of Boethius as saint and martyr, celebrated *decimo kalendas novembres* (the 23rd of October), was not officially authorized by the Sacred Congregation of Rites and confirmed by Pope Leo XIII until 1883<sup>213</sup>. *In fine*, the memory of Boethius, of his *opera omnia* and his *persona*, was systematically maintained for eleven centuries through the multiple copies, glosses, commentaries, translations, and editions of his works, and through the multiple eulogies and commemorations of his martyrdom, contributing thus to his unique and lasting influence on the *European Unity of Culture*.




---

<sup>213</sup> Pope Leo XIII (Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci), successor of Pius IX, 1810-1878, consecrated on the 3rd of March, 1878; Leo XIII died on July the 20<sup>th</sup>, 1903, M. Coens, *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 78, 1960, p. 72, n. 3.

---

**CHAPTER 9: BOETHIUS AND HROTSVITHA GANDERHEIMENSIS**

---

## CHAPTER 9

## BOETHIUS

## and Hrotsvitha Gandersheimensis (\*ca. 935 – †ca. 1002)

The coming into power in the 10<sup>th</sup> century of Emperor Otto I The Great (\*912-†973), Duke of Saxony and King of Germany, as well as King of Italy, ushered in a new branch of post-Carolingian general culture, known as the “Ottonian Renaissance”<sup>214</sup>, an era of prosperity, albeit one of unstable and conflictual political alliances between State and Church, especially in Central Europe and northern Italy. It also ushered in the beginning of a new geopolitical entity which became known as the *Imperium Romanum Sacrum*, that is to say the Holy Roman Empire, as of the reign of Frederick I Barbarosa (\*1122-†1190). Indeed, the incipient Ottonian Renaissance of the 10<sup>th</sup> century gave birth to several very extraordinary intellects, among whom: the Saxon Benedictine canoness Hrotsvitha Gandersheimensis (Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, \*ca. 935-†ca. 1002)<sup>215</sup>, and the learned Occitan Benedictine Gerbertus Aureliacensis

<sup>214</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, “Ottonian intellectual culture in the tenth century and the role of Theophano”, in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the turn of the first millennium*, Adelbert Davids (ed.), Cambridge, 1995, Ch. 9: p. 169-193; Patricia Ranft, *Women in Western intellectual Culture*, 600-1500, NY, 2002, p. 23-34.

<sup>215</sup> Hrotsvitha Gandersheimensis (\*ca. 935 – †ca. 1002), Canoness, was raised and educated at the Benedictine convent of Gandersheim (today: D-37575-37581 Bad Gandersheim, Lower Saxony, District of Northeim), under the Abbess Gerberga. She is the author of six hagiographical Plays “*Comediae in emulationem Therancii*”, namely: *Comedia prima Galli anus*, *Comedia secunda Dulcicius*, *Comedia tertia Callimachus*, *Comedia quarto Abraham*, *Comedia quinta Paffnucius et Thais*, *Comedia sexta Fides et Spes*, and eight hagiographical carmina: “*Sacrae Hystoriae uersu hexa[metro] et penta[metro]*”, namely: *Hystoria beatae Mariae uirginis*, *Hystoria Resurrectionis Domini*, *Hystoria et uita sancti Gongolfi*, *Hystoria sancti Pelagii*, *Hystoria conuersionis Sancti Theophili*, *Hystoria Proterii et sancti Basilii*, *Hystoria Passionis sancti Dyonisii*, *Hystoria Passionis sanctae Agnetis*, Praises and Deeds of Otto I the Great: *Panegiricus uersu hexametro in laudem et gesta Oddonis magni primi in germania imperatoris*, and the *Primordia Coenobii Gandersheimensis*; cf. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14485, dated between the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, written by several hands, this manuscript unique contains the *Opera omnia* of Hrotsvitha, with the exception of the *Primordia Coenobii Gandersheimensis* (973); L. Eckenstein, *Woman under monasticism: chapters on saint-lore and convent life between a. D. 500 and a.*

(Gerbert of Aurillac,\*ca. 938-†1003), who became Pope Sylvester II (999-1003), both very close to the Ottonian ruling class, and both having contributed significantly to the structuring of the European *Unity of Culture* leading up to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Likewise, the 12<sup>th</sup>-century Renaissance, that is to say the century of the *Studia generalia*, gave birth to two other remarkable Benedictine nuns, namely: Hildegardis Bingensis (Hildegard of Bingen,\*1098-†1179)<sup>216</sup>, Herradis

---

*D. 1500*, Cambridge, 1896, Chapter V, subsection 3, “The Nun Hrotsvith and her Writings”, p. 160-183; Paul Karl Rudolf von Winterfeld (critical edition), *Hrotsvithae opera. MGH, SS rerum germanicarum*, Berlin (Wiedmann), 1902, Proemium p. III, IV, V; <http://www.rarebookroom.org/Control/hvaopa/index.html>; K. Strecker, (ed.), *Hrotsvithae opera*, 2nd ed. Leipzig (Teubner), 1930; H. Hohmeyer (ed.), *Hrotsvithae Opera*, Munich, Paderborn, Wien (Schöningh), A. L. Haight, *Hroswitha of Gandersheim her life, times, and works, and a comprehensive bibliography*, New York (Hroswitha Club), 1965; 1970; Bert Nagel, *Hrotsvit von Gandersheim: Sämtliche Dichtungen*, Munich (Winkler), 1966; H. Hohmeyer (ed.), *Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim. Werke in deutscher Übertragung*, Munich, 1973; K. M. Wilson, “The Saxon Canoness Hrotsvit of Gandersheim”, in *Medieval Women Writers*, K. M. Wilson (ed.), Athens, Georgia, 1984, p. 31-62; *Hrotsvita. Théâtre*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par M. Gouillet. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1999. In-8°, CXXXVIII-301 pages; *Hrotsvita de Gandersheim. Oeuvres poétiques X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, présentation et traduction par Monique Gouillet, suivies du texte latin. Grenoble (Éd. Million), 2000, In-8°, 349 pages; Walter Berschin, (ed.), *Hrosvit: Opera Omnia*, Munich (Saur), 2001; P. Ranft, *Women in Western intellectual Culture, 600-1500*, New York (MacMillan), 2002, p. 26-34; P. R. Brown, K. M. Wilson, L. A. McMillin (eds.), *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, Contexts, Identities, Affinities, and Performances*, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2004; U. Wiethaus, “Body and Empire in the Works of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim”, in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Volume 34, Number 1, Winter 2004, p. 41-63; S. L. Wailes, *Spirituality and politics in the Hrosvit of Gandersheim*, Cranbury, NJ, 2006, Bibliography: p. 11-14, Ch. 13: *Thais*, p. 181-189, Ch. 15: *Deeds of Otto (Gesta Ottonis)*, p. 205-216; [http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/hroswitha\\_v\\_g.shtml](http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/hroswitha_v_g.shtml).

<sup>216</sup> Hildegard von Bingen (\*1098 – †1179), “Prophetissa teutonica”, “Sybil of the Rhine”, Hildegard was a German Benedictine, Prioress of Disibodenberg in 1136, Abbess and Founder of the Rupertsberg Cloister (1147-1179), near Bingen-am-Rhein, Germany 55411 (Rheinland-Pfalz | Mainz-Bingen); cf. *Hildegardis Bingensis, Opera minora*, H. Feiss, C. Evans, B. M. Kienzle, C. Muessig, B. Newman, P. Dronke (eds.), in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 226 (Brepols), 2007; *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Vol. 197, Paris, 1855; *Scivias (Scito vias Domini)*, C. Hart, J. Bishop, B. Newman; C. Walker Bynum, New York, 1990; *Symphonia armoniae celestium revelationum* (Lyric Poetry), B. Newman, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Ithaca, NY (Cornell

Landsbergensis (Herrad of Landsberg or Herrad of Hohenburg, \*1125-†1195)<sup>217</sup>, whose work also contributed significantly to the intellectual and spiritual hygiene of the European *Unity of Culture*.

**Hrotsvithae Gandersheimensis**  
**COMEDIA QUINTA PAFFNVCIUS ET THAIS**

The Boethii *De institutione musica* and the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica*, both of the purest Pythagorean and Platonic tradition via the treatise *Timaios* of Plato, are the principal scientific-philosophical sources for the beginning of Hrotsvitha's *Conversio Thaidis Meretricis*<sup>218</sup>. The main theme of the Drama is an account of the exploit of Paphnoútios, the Bishop of Thebes (4<sup>th</sup> century), who succeeds in completely converting to Christianity a beautiful, rich and celebrated prostitute of Alexandria, Egypt, Thais; the actors of the Drama are as

University Press), 1998; M. McGrade, "Hildegard von Bingen", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Vol.2, Vol. 8, ed. Ludwig Fischer, Kassel, Stuttgart (Bärenreiter und Metzler), 1994; L. Moulinier, "H comme Histoire: Hrotsvita, Hildegarde et Herrade, trois récits de fondation au féminin", *Clio*, 2-1995, *Femmes et Religions*, cf. <http://clio.revues.org/index489.html>; F. Maddocks, *Hildegard of Bingen: The Woman of Her Age*, Doubleday, 2001 •

<sup>217</sup> Herrade de Landsberg (\*1125-†1195), French Benedictine Abbess of Hohenburg [Mont Sainte-Odile], France, cf. Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (24.XI.2008), Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/h/herrad\\_v\\_1.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/h/herrad_v_1.shtml); <http://www.deliciarum.info/02/11/2008/le-hortus-deliciarum-le-manuscrit-maudit-le-jardin-des-delices/>; [http://www.bacm.creditmutuel.fr/HORTUS\\_DELICIARUMbas.html](http://www.bacm.creditmutuel.fr/HORTUS_DELICIARUMbas.html) •

<sup>218</sup> Hrotsvithae Gandersheimensis Comedia quinta Paffnvcus et Thais or Conversio Thaidis Meretricis: Paul Karl Rudolf von Winterfeld (critical edition), Hrotsvithae opera, p. 162-180; Hrotsvitha, Dulcitius and Paphnutius, Paul Pascal (ed.), Bryn Mawr Latin Commentaries, Bryn Mawr, 1989; <http://www.rarebookroom.org/Control/hvaopa/index.html>; Oswald R. Kuehne, *A study of the Thais legend with special reference to Hrothsvitha of Gandersheim*, (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania), Philadelphia Pa. 1922, p. 46-52, 53 (note 21), 54-58. **Nota bene:** Saint Paphnutius (Παφνούτιος), Bishop of Thebes, Egypt, 4<sup>th</sup> century a. D., is said to have been one of the major participants of the first Council of Nicaea in a. D. 325, presided by the Emperor Constantine the Great; feast days fall on: April 19 in the Greek Menologion, and September 11 in the Martyrologium romanum; Saint Thais (Θαῖς), Alexandria, Egypt, 4<sup>th</sup> century a. D., Prostitute, beautiful and riche, is said to have been converted to the Christian faith by Saint Paphnutius, her feast day falls on October 8 in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Die octava Octobris de Sancta Thaide, p. 223.

follows: Paphnutius, Discipuli, Iuvenes, Thais, Amatores, Abbatissa, and Antonius. In the very first part of the Play, the part pertinent to this study, Paphnutius entertains a lively *disputatio philosophica* with his disciples, in which he explains to them, albeit with limited success, the subtleties of the wise management of knowledge and ignorance, of *cognitio*, *sensus*, *perceptio* (cognitive process, senses, faculties of perception), of the *elementa contraria: harmonia et dissonus* (contrary elements: hamony and dissonance), of the antagonism between *anima et corpus* (soul and body), of the *Quadrivium: arithmetica, musica, geometrica, astronomica* (fourfold division of the disciplines governed by the reasoning of numbers), of *ars musica* (philosophy and science of music): of *spatia* (musical intervals), of *tonus* or *sesquioctava* (whole tone 1→1,25), of *symphoniae: diapason, diatessaron, diapente* (musical consonances: perfect octave, perfect fourth, perfect fifth), of the *tres genera musicae* (three genres of musica): *musica mundana* (harmony of the elements, of the heavens and planets, of time), *musica humana* (harmony of the parts of the soul, harmony of the parts of the elements, harmony of the soul and body), *musica instrumentorum* (harmony of the wind instruments, harmony of the stringed instruments, harmony of the percussion instruments), of *sonus* (sound, acoustics).

“... Discipuli. Quis est minor mundus? | Pafnutius. Homo. | Discipuli. Homo? | Pafnutius. Porro. | Discipuli. Qui homo? | Pafnutius. Omnis. | Discipuli. Qui potest fieri? | Pafnutius. Ut placuit creatori. | Discipuli. Non sapimus. | Pafnutius. Non obvium est per pluribus. | Discipuli. Expone. | Pafnutius. Intendite. | Discipuli. Ac prompta mente. | Pafnutius: Sicut enim maior mundus ex IIII contrariis elementis, sed at nutum creatoris secundum armonicam moderationem concordantibus perficitur, ita est homo non solum ab eisdem elementis, sed etiam ex magis contrariis partibus coaptatur. | Discipuli. Et quid magis contrarium quam elementa? | Pafnutius. Corpus et anima: quia, licet illa sine contraria, tamen sunt corporalia; anima autem nec mortalis, ut corpus, nec corpus spiritalis ut anima. | Discipuli. Ita. | Pafnutius. Si tamen dialecticos sequimur, nec illa contraria esse fatemur. | Discipuli. Et quis potest negare? | Pafnutius. Qui dialectice scit disputare; quia usiae nihil est contrarium, sed receptatrix est contrariorum. | Discipuli. Quid sibi vult, quod dixisti “secundum armonicam moderationem”? | Pafnutius. Id scilicet, quod, sicut pressi excellentesque soni, armoni coniuncti, quiddam perficiunt musicum, ita dissona elementa, convenienter concordantia unum perficiunt mundum. | Discipuli: Mirum, quomodo dissona concordari vel concordantia possint dissona dici. | Pafnutius. Quia nihil ex similibus componi videtur, nec ex his, quae nulla ratione proportionis iunguntur et a se omni substantia naturaque discreta sunt. | Discipuli. Quid est musica? | Pafnutius. Disciplina una de philosophiae quadrivio. | Discipuli. Quid est hoc,



quod dicis quadruvium<sup>219</sup>? | Pafnutius. Arithmetica, geometrica, musica, astronomica. | Discipuli. Cur quadruvium? | Pafnutius. Quia, sicut a quadruvio semitae, ita ab uno philosophiae principio harum disciplinarum prodeant progressionibus rectae.”

“...Discipuli. Quid agit? | Pafnutius. Musica? | Discipuli. Ipsa. | Pafnutius. Disputat de sonis. | Discipuli. Utrum est una an plures. | Pafnutius. Tres esse dicuntur, sed unaquaeque ratione proportionis alteri ita coniungitur, ut idem, quod accedit uni, non deest alteri. Discipuli. Et quae distantia inter tres? | Pafnutius. Prima dicitur mundana sive caelestis secunda humana, tertia, quae instrumentis exercetur. | Discipuli. In quo constat caelestis? | Pafnutius. In septem planetis et in caelesti spera. | Discipuli. Quo modo? | Pafnutius. Eo videlicet, quo illa quae in instrumentis, quia tot spatia, pares productiones, eadem symphoniae reperiuntur in his quae et in cordis. | Discipuli. Quid sunt spatia? | Pafnutius. Dimensiones, quae numerantur inter planetas, sive inter cordas. | Discipuli. Et quid productiones? | Pafnutius. Idem quo toni. | Discipuli. | Nec horum notitia nos tangit. | Pafnutius. Tonus fit ex duobus sonis et possidet rationem epothoi numeri sive sesquioctavi. | Discipuli. Quanto velocius praeposita investigando satagimus transire, tanto difficiliora nobis non desinis apponere. | Pafnutius. Hoc exigit huiusmodi disputatio. | Discipuli. Edissere summotenus aliquantulum de symphonis, quo saltem sciamus significationem nominis. | Pafnutius. Symphonia dicitur modulationis temperamentum. | Discipuli. Quare? | Pafnutius. Quia nunc quattuor, nunc quinque, nunc octo sonis perficitur. | Discipuli. Qui tres esse cognoscimus singularum vocabula dinoscere cupimus. | Pafnutius. Prima dicitur diatesson, quasi ex quattuor, et possidet proportionem epitritam sive sesquiterciam. Secunda diapente, quae constat ex quinque, et est in ratione emiolei sive sesquialteri. Tertia diatesson [sic]; haec fit in duplo perficiturque sonibus octo. | Discipuli. Num spera et planetae proferunt sonum, ut mereantur comparisonem cordarum? | Pafnutius. Ac maximum. | Discipuli. Cur non auditur? | Pafnutius. Multifariam exponunt...”

**Nota bene:** The above passages are based principally on Boethius’: *De arithmetica* I,1, I,2, II,2, II,32, II,54, on *De musica* I,1, I,2, I,7, I,10, I,11, I,16 – I,19, I,27, II,8, etc., then, on Boethius’ *In categorias Aristotelis liber I*<sup>220</sup>.

The Boethian pedagogical glosses of *Descriptio* XII and *Descriptio* XIII, dating from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and attested in manuscripts of both French and German origin, illustrate vividly certain portions of the *disputatio philosophica* of Paphnutius in

<sup>219</sup> Quadruvium (“αἱ τέσσαρες μέθοδοι” | “quattuor matheseos disciplinarum”): Boethius’ *De institutione arithmetica* Prologue (end), I,1: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, f. 3 v<sup>o</sup>: lines 2-4; ed. G. Friedlein, p. 5, 7, 9; Illo Humphrey, Ottawa, 2007, p. 26,27, 30; see Prologue: note 3, note 17.

<sup>220</sup> Paul Karl Rudolf von Winterfeld (critical edition), *Hrotsvithae opera*, pages 163-166.

response to the questions of his Discipuli. The critical edition of Paul von Winterfeld gives a detailed account of the Boethian sources in Hrotsvitha's Play, whose text is, in fact, an extensive gloss or commentary on selected passages of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* and *De institutione musica*. The said commentaries demonstrate the quality of Hrotsvitha's general culture, and show that she had perfectly assimilated the teachings of Boethius, as well as those of the long-standing *Tradition of Knowledge* between Plato and Boethius.



© *Descriptio XII*<sup>221</sup>

Calligraphy and reproduction of the original gloss:

Illo Humphrey | Paris | 1994 | École Pratique des Hautes Études IV<sup>th</sup> Section – Sorbonne

**Musica mundana:**

Consonantia elementorum • Consonantia cæli et planetarum • Consonantia temporum •

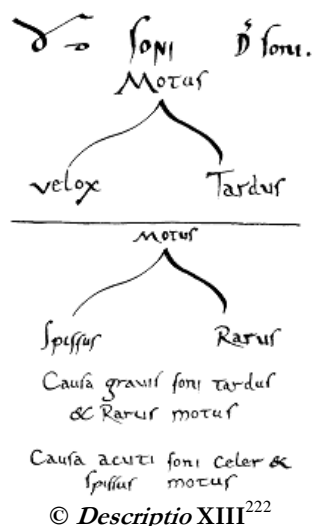
**Musica humana:**

Consonantia partium animæ • Consonantia partium elementorum • Consonantia animæ et corporis •

**Musica instrumentorum:**

In spiritu • In intentione • In percussione •

<sup>221</sup> *Tres genera musicae*: Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, I, 2 *Tres esse musicas* • in quo de ui musicæ • (glosses: 10<sup>th</sup> c., *ex.*); after Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Fleury-sur-Loire [?], f. 5r<sup>o</sup>; cf. M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, p. 214-215; M. Bernhard and C. Bower (eds.), *Glossa maior*, t. I, p. LXXIII-LXXV, 83-84 (gl. 9a, b, c); Illo Humphrey, *Le De arithmetica et le De musica de Boèce dans l'enseignement scientifique et philosophique du Haut Moyen âge*: Édition proto-philologique d'un manuscrit du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris, B. n. F., Latin 14064), *texte et gloses*, (Ph. D. Dissertation), Université de Paris X-Nanterre (Fichier Central des Thèses : n° 9413058J), Vol. I, Ch. 25, p. 310. **Nota bene**: It is useful to know that concept of *musica mundana* ("harmony of the spheres") is based on the teachings of the treatise *Timaios* by Plato ¶38 (ed. Thomas-Henri Martin, *Études sur le Timée de Platon*, Vol. I, p. 104-105; Vol. II, *Astronomie platonique*, p. 63: Note XXXI, p. 64: Note XXXII), and on the treatise Boethii *De institutione musica* I,2: *Tres esse musicas* • in quo de ui musicæ • and Boethii *De institutione musica* I,27 *Qui nerui quibus sideribus comparentur* •



Calligraphy and reproduction of the original gloss:

Illo Humphrey | Paris | 1994 | École Pratique des Hautes Études IV<sup>th</sup> Section – Sorbonne

**Defini-tio soni • definitio soni•**

Motus

(movement)

Velox (rapid)

tardus (slow)•

Motus

Spissus (high pitch)

rarus (low pitch)•

Causa grauis soni tardus et rarus motus• Causa acuti soni celer et spissus motus•

<sup>222</sup> *Sonus* (ὁ φθόγγος): Πλάτωνος *Τίμαιος* ἢ περὶ Φύσεως π': A | Plátonos *Tímaios* or *on Nature* 80:A; Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, I, 3 *De uocibus ac de musicæ elementis*• (glosses: 10<sup>th</sup> c., *ex.*), and *De musica* I,8: *Quid sit sonus• quid intervallum• quid Consonantia•*; after Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 7200 9<sup>th</sup> c., Fleury-sur-Loire [?], f. 5v<sup>o</sup> : 7-15; cf. M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, p. 214-215; Michael Bernhard and Calvin Bower (eds.), *Glossa maior*, Vol. 1, p. LXXIII-LXXV, 113 (gl. 34); Illo Humphrey, *Le De arithmetica et le De musica de Boèce...*, (Ph. D. Dissertation), UPX-Nanterre (Fichier Central des Thèses: n° 9413058J), Vol. I, Ch. 25, p. 311. **Nota bene:** This *Descriptio* explains clearly Boethius' definition of sound, *De institutione musica* I, 3: "*Idcirco definitur sonus percussio aeris indissoluta usque ad auditum• Motuum uero alii sunt uelociore• alii tardiores• eorundemque motuum alii rariores sunt alii spissiores•*", which is based on the treatise *Tímaios* by Plato ¶80A, cf. ed. Thomas-Henri Martin, *Études sur le Timée de Platon*, Vol. I, Note XXIII, ¶ II: *Acoustique ancienne*, p. 393-394, and on the Aristotle's treatise *Περὶ ἀκουστικῶν* (*On Acoustics*), cf. ed. August Immanuel Bekker, Berlin, 1831-1870, p. 803-804.

### Observations on Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim

Hrotsvitha, in conformity with the Benedictine tradition, had a broad general culture and was an assiduous “disciple” of Boethius. She understood well the fundamental concepts of the scientific-philosophical-ethical *Tradition of Knowledge* between Plato and Boethius, which allowed her to give the full measure of her talent to the composition of her *Comedia Qvinta Paffnvcius et Thais*, and above all to contribute substantially to the maintenance of the intellectual and cognitive hygiene of her generation, to the delicate equilibrium between knowledge and ignorance, as well as to the wise mangagement of civilisation development in 10<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. Indeed, one observes, through Hrotswitha’s contribution to the Ottonian Renaissance of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, that the primitive mediæval university, that is to say the *Studia generalia*, was already in full gestation.



---

**CHAPTER 10: BOETHIUS AND GERBERTUS | ABBO | NOTKER III**

---

## CHAPTER 10

### BOETHIUS

and

(A) Gerbertus Aureliacensis

(Gerbert of Aurillac, \**ca.* 935-945 - †1003) •

(B) Abbo Floriacensis

(Abbo of Fleury, Orléans, \**ca.* 945 - †1004) •

(C) Notker III Labeo seu Teutonicus (\*950 - †*ca.* 1022) •

Gerbertus Aureliacensis (Gerbert of Aurillac)<sup>223</sup> was an Occitan, of occitan culture, mastering perfectly the Occitan language. He was born between the years 935 and 945 in the middle part of Occitania in the Region of Auvèrnhe (Auvergne) in the still small mediaeval town of Beillac (today near the town of Saint-Simon, France-15215, in the Department of the Cantal). Around the year 963, he became oblate and monk at the Benedictine monastery of Saint Gerald of Aurillac. In the year 967, following the suggestion of the Abbot of Saint Gerald, he was invited by the Count of Barcelona, Borrell II, visiting briefly the monastery, to return with him to Barcelona in order to pursue his scientific and philosophical studies; Gerbertus accepted the invitation, and this decision would determine his entire career. He received a thorough occitan scientific-philosophical education in the then cultural and intellectual capital of Occitania, that is to say in Catalonia, Spain. His studies in Occitania allowed him to have close intellectual and cultural commerce not only with his Benedictine Occitan master of Catalonia, namely Atto, Bishop of Vich, well-versed in the teachings of Boethius, but also with the Arab masters coming from further south, from the capital of Andalusia, that is to say the thriving Caliphate of Córdoba (929-1031), who were perfectly well-versed in all aspects of the Pythagorean, Platonic, Aristotelian, Euclidian *Tradition of Knowledge*.

---

<sup>223</sup> *Gerberti opera mathematica*, ed. N. Bubnov, Berlin, 1899, Hildesheim, Olms, 1963, p. 29-31; Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 139, col. 85-169; David Eugene Smith, *History of mathematics*, Toronto 1923, New York, 1951, p. 195, 196; Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac: Le Pape de l'an mil*, Paris (Fayard), 1987; Francis Moury, *Gerbert d'Aurillac, héritier de Boèce, an 1000*: <http://www.paperblog.fr/1436123/gerbert-d-aurillac-heritier-de-boece-an-1000-par-francis-moury/>; *Correspondance de Gerbert d'Aurillac*, Text, Translation, and Commentary by Pierre Riché, J.-P. Callu, 2 Vol., Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1993.

During his stay in Catalonia, he mastered and transmitted to the medio-latin world the use of the abacus (calculating device), of the armillary sphere (astrolabe), and of the Indian-Arabic numerals.

Highly regarded by the Emperor Otto I, he was appointed successively imperial *praeceptor* of Otto II (955-983), and Otto III (980-1002), became Abbot of Bobbio (982-983), Archbishop of Rheims (991-999); in 999, he was elected Pope Sylvester II, and died four years later in 1003. The death of Gerbert of Aurillac marks the end of a period of five centuries of intellectual, scientific and philosophical evolution, and the beginning of a new era; indeed, he ushered in the new century, veritable turning point between the post-Carolingian era and the beginning of the modern era. Due to his powerful cognitive gifts, he became the pivotal intellectual figure, who, thanks to the twofold influence of Boethius and the Occitan-Arab Masters of the Iberian peninsula, helped prepare the way for the *Studia generalia* of the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Here are two documents from the quill of Gerbert, which show his admiration and indebtedness to the life and works of Boethius.

### (1) Boethian Eulogy:

#### Mediaeval Latin:

Roma potens dum jura suo declarat in orbe•  
 Tu pater et patriae lumen Severine Boeti•  
 Consulis officio rerum disponis habenas•  
 Infundis lucem studiis• et cedere nescis•  
 Grecorum ingeniis• sed mens divina coercet•  
 Imperium mundi gladio bachante Gothorum•  
 Libertas romana perit• tu consul et exul•  
 Insignes titulos praeclara morte relinquis•  
 Nam decus imperii• summas qui praegravat artes•  
 Tertius Otto sua dignum te iudicat aula•  
 Aeternumque tui statuit monimenta laboris•  
 Et bene promeritum meritis exornat honestis•<sup>224</sup>

<sup>224</sup> (10<sup>th</sup> century) • Eulogy attributed to Gerbert of Aurillac (†1003), Primary source: Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1093, 11<sup>th</sup> c., f. 117v° • Secondary sources: K. Strecker (ed.), *MGH, Poetae latini*, Vol. V, Leipzig, 1937, p. 474-475 ; P. Bourgain, “L’hommage de Gerbert à Boèce”, in *Autour de Gerbert d’Aurillac. Le pape de l’an mil*, dossier n° 43, O. Guyotjeannin et E. Poulle (eds.), Paris (École nationale des Chartes), 1996, p. 297-299.



**Old English:**

Whilst Rome in all her might delcareth her right in the world which is hers•  
 Thou, Severinus Boethius• Father and light of the fatherland•  
 Consul in thy function the things of [true] power thou hast•  
 Thou diffusest light on the studies• and thou knowest not• [yea• thou ignorest]  
 The Greeks' ingenuity• but• here• divine [providence] administereth a firm correction to the  
 [Proud] empire of the world through the naked sword of the Goths•  
 Ushering in the fall of Roman liberty• [yet] thou consul, exiled•  
 Thou• thy insignias and titles through thy prestigious death• dost relinquish•  
 Now• the [noble] decorum of the empire• he who granteth the arts [and sciences] their highest [rank]• Otto III• doth judge thee worthy of entering into his [royal] hall•  
 And for eternity doth he erect thy monument• [yea• thy shrine] of labor•  
 And well be it for thy [honour]• for [indeed] thou deservest [truly] and honestly this [high] merit•<sup>225</sup>

**(2) Gerberti *Libellus De rationali et ratione uti* (excerpt)<sup>226</sup>****Mediaeval Latin:**

Oratio est interpres animo conceptæ rationis• Sed prædicatus• inquit• terminus maior aut æquus debet esset subiecto• ut uero minor sit esse non potest• Videtur autem *rationem uti* minus esse a *rationali*• *Racionale* namque totam spetiem hominis uel dei comprehendit• *ratione autem uti*• non omnem sed eos tantum rationis actum exercent• Quando /// ergo minus de maiori prædicabitur?...

<sup>225</sup> English translation~interpretation: Illo Humphrey.

<sup>226</sup> München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm, 14735, 11<sup>th</sup> c., f. 46v<sup>o</sup>-47r<sup>o</sup>; cf. A. Olleris, *Oeuvres de Gerbert...*, Clermont-Ferrand, Paris, 1867, p. 297-310; Carla Frova, *Gerberto "philosophus": il "De rationali et ratione utili"*, in *Gerberto. Scienza, storia e mito*, Bobbio, Editrice degli A.S.B., 1985, pp. 351-377; D. Poirel, "L'art de la logique. Le *De rationali et ratione uti* de Gerbert", in *Autour de Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil*, dossier n° 43, O. Guyotjeannin et E. Poulle (eds.), Paris (École nationale des Chartes), 1996, p. 310-320, one Plate: p. 310 = München, clm, 14735. The Gerberti *De rationali et ratione uti* is conserved in at least two other manuscripts: Vienna [Wien], ÖNB, 766, 12<sup>th</sup> c.; Paris, BnF, Fonds latin, 14193, 11<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.; cf. D. Poirel, p. 318.

**Modern English:**

The word is the interpreter of the rational [thought] conceived in the mind• But the predicate• so they say• must be [the] major terminal point [of a given proposition]• and [must either be] larger or [at least an] equal [peer] to the subject• and [the idea of the predicate] being smaller than the subject is [of course out of the question]• It [would] seem [then• in this proposition]• the [notion of] *use of reason* is smaller than *rational*• Now• [to be sure• the notion of] *rational* or *reasonable* implies all species of man and of God [human and spiritual]• [on the other hand• the notion of *use of reason* does not imply all species• but only those who exercise the act of reasoning• How [then can a term of lesser importance] become the predicate [to one which is of greater importance]?...<sup>227</sup>

**Observations on Gerbert of Aurillac**

Gerbert of Aurillac, the Occitan scientist and philosopher, was in all respects unique in 10<sup>th</sup>-century France. Through a series of providential circumstances, he became closely affiliated with the Ottonian imperial family and court, allowing him great intellectual and political latitude. His career was exemplary as shown by his social ascendancy: Abbot of Bobbio, Master of the School of Rheims, Archbishop of Rheims, Pope Sylvester II. His ecclesiastical contributions are greatly exceeded by his

---

<sup>227</sup> This mini-treatise, composed by Gerbert around 997-998, is the fruit of a real dialectical encounter between of Gerbert himself and a few of his contemporary masters and their disciples. The actual encounter took place in 981 during the reign of Otto II. A strong Boethian influence is evident, in all probability coming from the Boethius *In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, of which Boethius did two distinct editions: the first edition after the Latin translation of the Roman rhetorician Gaius Marius Victorinus Afer (4<sup>th</sup> c.), and the second edition translated directly from the *Introduction* of Πορφύριος ὁ Τύσιος (Porphýrios o Týios \*ca. 234 – †ca. 305); cf. Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, (editio prima) ed. S. Brandt, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (CSEL), vol. XXXXVIII, Leipzig, 1906, p. 1-132; Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, (editio secunda), ed. S. Brandt, in CSEL, vol. XXXXVIII, Leipzig, 1906, p. 133-34; cf. Plotini *Enneades praemisso Porphyrii de vita Plotini deque ordine librorum eius libello*, ed. R. Volkmann, Leipzig (Teubner), 1884, vol. II, *Enneades*: IV, VII: 8 (p. 133: 21-30), V, I: 8-10 (p. 173: 3-13); Pierre Hadot, *Plotin, Porphyre. Etudes néo-platoniciennes*, Paris (Belles Lettres: collection L'âne d'or), 1999, 425 pages. English translation-interpretation: Illo Humphrey.

intellectual-scientific-philosophical contributions, namely: the use of Indian-Arabic numerals, and the use of the abacus<sup>228</sup>, etc.

### (B) Abbo Floriacensis

(Abbo of Fleury, Orléans, \*ca. 945 - †La Réole, 1004)

Abbo Floriacensis<sup>229</sup> was Abbot of Fleury between 988 and 1004; prior to that date, in response to the request of Archbishop Oswald of York (\*972-†992), he also served as Abbot and Master at the newly founded Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey between 985 and 987. Just as Gerbert and many of their contemporaries Masters and disciples, he was accustomed to traveling in order to insure a good level of intellectual hygiene at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, a transition century, and in so doing to usher in the century which would give birth to the European mediæval university.

### Observations on Abbo of Fleury

Abbo of Fleury was well versed in Boethius, and in the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*. Indeed, Fleury-sur-Loire was already at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century a high-level monastic school, where all the works of Boethius were studied, copied, glossed, and commented upon<sup>230</sup>. Abbo, conversant in all the different *disciplinae* of the *Liberal arts*, was a natural beneficiary of the rich Boethian tradition at Fleury, as the remarkable collective study of 2004 clearly shows<sup>231</sup>. He

---

<sup>228</sup> G. Beaujouan, “L’abaque du Pseudo-Boèce”, in *Autour de Gerbert d’Aurillac...* Paris, 1996, p. 323-328.

<sup>229</sup> Abbo Floriacensis (Abbo of Fleury, Orléans, \*ca. 945-†La Réole, 1004), cf. *Abbonis abbatis commentum super calculo Victorii*, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 53 : 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> s., ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 139, col. 569-572: (Preface only); Irene Caiazzo, “Abbon de Fleury et l’héritage platonicien”, [http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/13/38/08/PDF/Caiazzo\\_Abbon\\_de\\_Fleury.pdf](http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/13/38/08/PDF/Caiazzo_Abbon_de_Fleury.pdf); Pierre Riché, *Abbon de Fleury, un moine savant et combattif*, Brepols, 2004; Elizabeth Dachowski, *First among Abbots: The Career of Abbo of Fleury*, Washington, D.C., 2008; [http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/abbo\\_floriacensisx.html](http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/abbo_floriacensisx.html); cf. F. W. Bautz, BBKL: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/abbo\\_v\\_f.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/abbo_v_f.shtml).

<sup>230</sup> See, above, Chapter 8, Section (B): Fleury-sur-Loire, and notes 187-191.

<sup>231</sup> *Abbon, un abbé de l’an mil*, A. Dufour, G. Labory (eds.), Turnhout (Brepols) 2009; this interdisciplinary international symposium was organized in 2004 by the Institut de Recherches et d’Histoire des Textes (IRHT), CNRS, France, 21 contributors, among whom four of France’s finest mediævalist scholars of the

left to posterity his *Commentarius in calculum Victorii Aquitanæ*<sup>232</sup>, and his *Questiones grammaticales*, etc.<sup>233</sup>, as for his *Epistolae*,<sup>234</sup> they are conserved thanks to Aimoin of Fleury (\*ca. 960 – †ca. 1008-1010), Abbo's faithful disciple and biographer.

(C) Notker III Labeo seu Teutonicus (\*ca. 950-†ca. 1022)

Notker III Labeo ("Thick Lipped") or Teutonicus ("The German"), a learned Benedictine monk of Sankt Gallen (Saint Gall), was born in the northeastern extremity of Alemannia (today Switzerland) in the Kanton Thurgau (CH- 8500, Frauenfeld) around the year 950, and died in the Abbey of Saint Gall around the year 1022. Born into an aristocratic family, nephew of Ekkehard I (†973), he became oblate at an early age at Saint Gall, received a very thorough education in the liberal arts and sciences, as well as in the science of religion and theology, and was named subsequently the *Praeceptor* of the Saint Gall monastic school. Possessing multi-disciplinary erudition, and a perfect mastery of both the vernacular Althochdeutsch | Altoberdeutsch (Old High German), his mother tongue, and the Latin language, he undertook and accomplished his ambitious projects of translating into Old High German important texts on the liberal arts and sciences, as well as biblical texts, namely: Boethii *De consolatione philosophiae*, Boethii *De trinitate* (now lost), portions of the Boethii *Arithmetica* (now lost), portions of the *Disticha Catonis*, Cato the Elder, (now lost), Vergilii *Bucolica* (now lost), Terentii *Andria* (now lost), Martianus Capellae *De nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii*

---

twentieth century: Michel Huglo, Pierre Riché, Jean Vezin, Pascale Bourgain; cf. <http://www.irht.cnrs.fr/publications/abbon.htm>.

<sup>232</sup> *Commentary on Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine*: G. R. Evans et A. M. Peden, "Natural Science and the Liberal Arts in Abbo of Fleury's *Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine*", *Viator*, n° 16, 1985, p. 109-127; A. M. Peden, *Abbo of Fleury and Ramsey: Commentary on Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine*, Oxford University Press, 2003 (*Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi*, XV), LIV - 160 pages. To Abbo are also attributed the following works: *De cyclis decennovalibus*; *De motibus stellarum*; *De syllogismis catheticis*; *De Syllogismis Hypotheticis*; *Passio Eadmundi*; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 139, col. 387-584D.

<sup>233</sup> *Abbo Floriacensis, Questiones grammaticales* | Abbon de Fleury, *Questions grammaticales*, edition and translation, Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, Paris (Belles Lettres), 1982; [http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost10/Abbo/abb\\_gram.html](http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost10/Abbo/abb_gram.html).

<sup>234</sup> *Abbonis abbatis Epistolae*, Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 139, col. 419-161.

Liber 1, Liber 2, Aristotelous *Categoriae*, Aristotelous *Peri Hermeneias*: *De interpretatione*, Psalter (Vulgata: Gallican version), The Book of Job (now lost), Latin-Althochdeutsch Dictionary, etc.<sup>235</sup>

### Observations on Notker “The German”

Just as did his two contemporaries, Gerbert of Aurillac and Abbo of Fleury, Notker “The German”, made an indelible contribution to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, through his relentless efforts to elevate the intellectual, spiritual, ethical-moral, and cognitive hygiene in Alemannia and in Germany. Given then his bilingual skills in Old High German and in Latin, he was able to greatly enhance the intellectual hygiene and the general culture of his generation in the Altoberdeutsch geographical

---

<sup>235</sup> E. v. Steinmeyer, E. Sievers (eds.), *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, Vol. 2 1882, reprint 1969, 156,6-156,10, 156,19-156,23, Nr. DCXVI=616; Vol. 4 1898, reprint 1969, 453, Nr. 209; Vol. 5 1922, reprint 1969, 31,8, 31,26, Nr. DCCLXIIa Ergänzungen=762a; Vol. 5, 1922, reprint 1969, 59, Nr. 698. Petrus W. Tax (ed.), Notker III (Labeo seu Teutonicus, \*ca. 950-†1022): *Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, Buch I und II, Die Werke Notker des Deutschen*, Neue Ausgabe 1; Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 94, Tübingen, 1986; *Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, Buch III, Die Werke Notker des Deutschen*, Neue Ausgabe 2; Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 100, Tübingen, 1988; *Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, Buch IV und V, Die Werke Notker des Deutschen*, Neue Ausgabe 3; Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 101 (Tübingen, 1990); Bruno Bon, Anne-Marie Bautier, François Dolbeau, M. Duchet-Suchaux, Anita Guerreau, Caroline Heid, Michel Lemoine (eds.), *Index scriptorum novus Mediae Latinitatis: Supplementum*, Union académique internationale, Paris (CNRS), 1973-2005, ISSN 1376-74-61 | ISBN 92-990020-45, see entry : Notker Labeo (Teutonicus), magister Sangallensis, p. 186-187; Gerhard Lüdtkte et Lutz Mackensen (eds.), *Deutscher Kulturatlas*, Volume I: *Vorzeit und Frühzeit bis zum Jahre 1000 nach Christi*, Berlin, Leipzig (Walter de Gruyter & Co.), 1931, cf. Tables: 66 (Althochdeutsche Literatur I) et 67 (Althochdeutsche Literatur II) par Otto Basler. According to Otto Basler, the oldest texts in Althochdeutsch are the *Malbergische Glossen* et des magic formulas called *Merseburger Zaubersprüche*, dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Following a long series of vernacular Altoberdeutsch texts are the: *Keronisches Gloossar*, ca. 750, *Hildebrandslied*, ca. 770, texts of the Church Fathers (*De Fide Catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Judaeos ad Florentinam sororem suam*, the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, etc.) from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, *Oaths of Strasbourg* (*Strassburger Eide, Serments de Strasbourg*) from the year 842, as well as prayers poetry, hymns, Psalms, and scientific-philosophical texts translated by Notker III Teutonicus in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

realm. As *Praeceptor* of the monastic School of Saint Gall, Notker understood well the intellectual needs of the Old High German-Speaking territories, and in translating Boethius into the German vernacular of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, he made a decisive contribution to the European *Unity of Culture*, and, *a fortiori causa*, to the soon-to-be-born European *Studia generalia*. Among the manuscripts originating from Saint Gall containing the works of Boethius and the commentaries and glosses by Notker Teutonicus are as follows: Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek: 817 | 818 | 820 | 825 (Notker's Old High German translation of Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, p. 4-271) | 830 | 831 (a few of Notker's Old High German interlinear glosses on Boethii *Porphyrii Isagoge*, p. 3-168) | 844 (Old High German interlinear glosses on Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, p. 13-186) | 845 (174 glosses in Old High German commentary on Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, p. 1-240)<sup>236</sup>. Indeed, the abundant primary-source legacy left behind by Notker "The German" renders once again homage to Boethius, and to the role he played in shaping the European *Unity of Culture*.

**BOETHII CONSOLATIO PHILOSOPHIAE**

**INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS BOETHII.**

**Conquestio Boethii de instabilitate fortunae.**

*Qui peregi quondam carmina florente studio,*

*heu flebilis cogor inire mestos modos.*

**Íh-tír êr tэта frôlichív sáng, íh máchôn nû nôte chára-sáng.**

*Ecce lacerae camenae dictant mihi scribenda.*

**Síh no, léidege musae, lêrent mih scríben. Táz mír uuíget, táz uuíget ín.**

**Tíe mih êr lêrton iocunda carmina, tíe lêrent mih nû flebilía.**

*Et rigant ora elegi.i. miseri.veris.i. non fictis fletibus.*

**Únde füllent sie mîniv óugen, mît êrnestlichên drânen**<sup>237</sup> ...

---

**CHAPTER 11: BOETHIUS AND FULBERTUS CARNOTENSIS**

---

<sup>236</sup> Universität Innsbruck, *Althochdeutsch Handschriftenkatalog*: <http://homepag.e.uibk.ac.at/~c30310/Altdeutsch/Handschriftenkatalog.pdf>, p. 631-637; BBKL,

B. VI, Spalte 1035-1041, Tibor Pézsa → [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/n/notker\\_v\\_s\\_g.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/n/notker_v_s_g.shtml).

<sup>237</sup> Edward H. Sehrt, Taylor Starck (eds.), *Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen* (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 32, 33, 34, 37, 40, 42, 43), Halle, 1934; cf. [http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/10Jh/Notker/not\\_boet.html](http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/10Jh/Notker/not_boet.html);

Rosmarie Lühr, "Translating Information Structure: A Study of Boethius's latin *De Consolatione Philosophiae* into Old High German", in *Trends in Linguistics. Information structure and language, Information structure and Language Change: new Approaches to Word Order Variation in Germanic*, R. Hinterhölzl, S. Petrova (eds.), Berlin (Walter de Gruyter), 2009, p. 323-359.

**CHAPTER 11**  
**BOETHIUS**  
**and**  
**Fulbertus Carnotensis**  
**(Fulbert of Chartres \*ca. 952-962 – †ca. 1029)**<sup>238</sup>

The vigorous efforts made by the Masters of the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries to improve the intellectual and cognitive hygiene on the Continent of Europe bore, to be sure, good fruits. Indeed, at the approach of the year 1000, these efforts prepared inevitably the coming to fruition of the mediæval university as of the year 1088 in Bologna, Italy, and shortly afterwards in Montpellier (ca. 1137), Paris (ca. 1150), Oxford (ca. 1167), Cambridge (ca. 1209), etc. The intellectual and cognitive preparation of the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries were of course well-rooted in the very reliable *corpus* provided by the works of Boethius, and by their multiple glosses and commentaries. The Boethian *corpus*, along with its glosses and commentaries, not only possessed high values in science, philosophy, ethics, spirituality, education, and general culture, but, even beyond, thanks to the elevated character of the life and the *humanitas* of Boethius, possessed also very high standards for civilization management and civilization development. If this is true, one can say that the Spirit of Boethius remained very much alive in his intellectual patrimony, allowing him, posthumously, to exert a very positive influence on the founders of mediæval universities.

Fulbertus Carnotensis is an officially canonized saint whose feast day falls on *quarto idus aprilis*, that is to say the 10<sup>th</sup> of April<sup>239</sup>. He was born around 960 and died in 1028 in the city of Chartres. Of his origins, we know very little; historiographical tradition advances two hypotheses, one affirming that he was of Italian origin, the other that he was French

<sup>238</sup> Fulbertus Carnotensis (†ca. 1027-1029): cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, BBKL: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/f/fulbert\\_v\\_c.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/f/fulbert_v_c.shtml).

<sup>239</sup> Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres, Manuscript Nr. 4 (11<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 94r<sup>o</sup>; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14272, origin: Saint-Emmeram of Regensburg, written by Hartvic, 11<sup>th</sup> century, f. 1v-62; Bernhard Bischoff, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner Ordens* (LI). 1933, p. 105-110; Bernhard Bischoff, "Mittelalterliche Studien", Stuttgart 1967-1981, p. 80; Frederick Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, Oxford, 1976 | 2002, p. xvi, cf. "The Principal Manuscripts": p. xliii: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14167, 11<sup>th</sup> c., p. xlv, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 2872 (16<sup>th</sup> c.), etc.

origin from the Region of Picardie, just north of Ile-de-France, just east of Normandy. He was made Bishop of the Cathedral of Chartres by the King Robert the Pious (the son of King Hugues Capet), his episcopate lasted for 22 years from 1006 to his death in 1028. According to tradition, it was Fulbert himself who founded the Cathedral School of Chartres, and indeed it is now generally accepted that he was its authentic founder<sup>240</sup>, however, in spite of the fact that he was present in Rheims between 980 et 990<sup>241</sup>, it has yet to be clearly shown that he was a former student of Gerbert of Aurillac at Rheims<sup>242</sup>.

Our knowledge of Fulbert's intellectual pedigree is limited, and indirect. We know, however, that he trained an entire generation of 11<sup>th</sup>-century Masters, Bishops, Abbots, at the Cathedral School of Chartres, among whom: Wazon of Liège: (Belgium-4000, †1048), Oldbert of Gembloux (Belgium-5030, †after 1020), Ragimbold of Cologne (Germany-50441, †1033), Odulphe of Liege (†between 1027 and 1033), Alestan of Liège (†1033), Radulphe of Liège (†after 1028), Adelman of Liège<sup>243</sup>.

### Observations on Fulbert of Chartres

Thanks to the detailed testimonies conserved in the correspondence of former disciples, such as Adelmanus Leodiensis (Adelman of Liège, et Bishop of Brescia, Italy-25100, 1057, †1061), Ragimboldus scholasticus Coloniensis (Ragimbold the Scholastic of Cologne), who remembered their Master with the highest admiration and

---

<sup>240</sup> Edouard Jeauneau, *Rethinking the School of Chartres*, translated by Claude Paul Desmarais, Series: *Rethinking the Middle Ages*, 2009.

<sup>241</sup> Y. Delaporte, "Fulbert de Chartres et l'école chartraine de chant liturgique au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Études grégoriennes*, Tome 2, 1957-1958; Margot Fassler, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the *Stirps Jesse*: Liturgical Innovation Circa 1000 and its Afterlife", *Speculum* 75 (April 2000): 389-434.

<sup>242</sup> Pierre Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le haut Moyen Âge (fin du V<sup>e</sup> siècle-milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, Picard, 1999, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition; P. Riché, *Les grandeurs de l'an mille*, Paris (Bartillat) 1999; B.Genin, *Fulbert de Chartres. Une grande figure de l'Occident chrétien au temps de l'an mil*, préface, P. Riché, Paris, (R. Jouve), 2003, *Le temps de Fulbert*, (actes de l'université d'été, 8-10 juillet 1996, Chartres, 1996, Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir); Michel Rouche, *Fulbert de Chartres. Précurseur de l'Europe médiévale*, Paris (Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne), Introduction by Pierre Riché, 2008.

<sup>243</sup> Michel Rouche, *Fulbert de Chartres...*, 2008, p. 194-206.



respect<sup>244</sup>, we can reconstitute, *grosso modo*, Fulbert's scientific-philosophical *banque de savoir*, that is to say his cognitive bank of knowledge concerning the *Quadrivium*<sup>245</sup>, the *Trivium*<sup>246</sup>, theology, history, etc., in short his παιδεία, his *humanitas*. So, we observe that in spite of our limited and indirect knowledge of Fulbert's pedigree, we possess sufficient data to conclude that he was indeed well-equipped to found and to direct the Cathedral School of Chartres, and therefore was well-positioned to help put into place, unbeknownst to himself, the structured wisdom and the cognitive hygiene in preparation of the birth of the mediæval university in the year 1088, in Bologna, Italy. In the interim period between Fulbert of Chartres and Thierry of Chartres, the 11<sup>th</sup> century gave birth to a coherent *ensemble* of Masters such as: Lanfrancus Paviensis, Cantuariensis, Beccensis (Lanfranc of Pavia or of Canterbury, or of The Bec, \*1005-†1089)<sup>247</sup>, Anselmus Cantuariensis (Saint Anselm of Canterbury, \*1033-†1109)<sup>248</sup>, Anselmus Laudnensis (Anselm of Laon, \*ca. 1050 – †1117)<sup>249</sup>, Roscellinus Compendiensis

---

<sup>244</sup> Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale, XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de Liège, Fascicule CCXXVIII, Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1981, p. 379-380; Michel Rouche, *Fulbert de Chartres...*, 2008, p. 194, 196.

<sup>245</sup> *Quadrivium: ars arithmetica, ars musica, ars geometrica, ars astronomica*; see above, note 20.

<sup>246</sup> *Trivium: ars grammatica, ars dialectica uel logica, ars rhetorica*; see above, note 20.

<sup>247</sup> Lanfrancus Paviensis (\*1005-†1089) was Master at the Benedictine Monastic School of The Bec (France-27800, Le Bec Hellouin, Upper Normandy), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1070-1089; cf. Klaus Reinhardt, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon: <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/l/Lanfrank.shtml>.

<sup>248</sup> Anselmus Cantuariensis [sanctus] (\*1033-†1109) was born in Aosta, Italy, was the student of Lanfrancus at The Bec, was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093-1109; cf. Stephen Gersh, Ch. 9, "Anselm of Canterbury", in *A History of twelfth-century Western Philosophy*, ed. P. Dronke, p. 255-276; F. W. Bautz, BBKL: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/anselm\\_v\\_c.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/anselm_v_c.shtml).

<sup>249</sup> Anselmus Laudnensis (\*ca. 1050-†1117) was a student of Anselmus of Canterbury and Master at the Cathedral School of Laon (France-02000, l'Aisne, Picardie), and had Petrus Abaelardus as student; F. W. Bautz, BBKL: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/anselm\\_v\\_la.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/anselm_v_la.shtml).

(Roscelin of Compiègne, \*1050-†1121)<sup>250</sup>, Guillelmus Campellensis (William of Champeaux \*1070-†1122)<sup>251</sup>, Petrus Abaelardus (Peter Abelard, \*1079-†1142)<sup>252</sup>, etc. Indeed, the 11<sup>th</sup> century was already in full intellectual and cognitive preparation for the birth of the *Studia generalia*.

---

## CHAPTER 12: BOETHIUS AND THIERRY OF CHARTRES

---

<sup>250</sup> Roscellinus Compendiensis (\*1050-†1121) Master at Tours (Fr-37000), Loches (Fr-37600), Compiègne (Fr-60200), elaborated the concept of *sententia vocum* (doctrine of the [five] voices: cf. note 274); Klaus Kienzler, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon→ [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/r/roscelin\\_v\\_c.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/r/roscelin_v_c.shtml).

<sup>251</sup> Guillelmus de Campellis or Campellensis (\*1070-†1122) was Master at the Cathedral School of Notre-Dame de Paris, founder of the Abbey Saint Victor of Paris in 1108 governed by the Augustinian Rule; cf. The 2 Foundation charters: Paris, Archives nationales Série K 21 n° 8 and K 21 n° 8b, signed and sealed by King Louis VI in 1113. Guillelmus had Petrus Abaelardus as student, was Bishop of Châlons-en-Champagne 1113-1121; cf. E. Michaud, *Guillaume de Champeaux et les écoles de Paris au XIIe siècle, d'après des documents inédits*, Paris (Didier et Cie.), 1867; Constant J. Mews, "The early Years: Roscelin of Compiègne and William of Champeaux", in *Abelard and Heloise*, Oxford, 2005, Chapter 2, p. 21-42; Constant J. Mews, "William of Champeaux, and Hugh of Saint-Victor. Platonism, theology, and scripture in early twelfth-century France", in *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris*, Münster, 2009, p. 131-163.

<sup>252</sup> Petrus Abaelardus (\*1079-†1142) was the student of Anselm of Laon and of William of Champeaux, Constant J. Mews, *Abelard and Heloise*, Oxford, 2005; D. E. Luscombe, "Peter Abelard", in *A History of twelfth-century Western Philosophy*, ed. P. Dronke, Ch. 10, p. 279-307; F. W. Bautz, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon→ [http://www.bbkl.de/a/abaelard\\_p.shtml](http://www.bbkl.de/a/abaelard_p.shtml); <http://www.abelard.paris-sorbonne.fr/>; *Pietro Abelardo e la riscoperta della filosofia. Percorsi intellettuali nel XII secolo tra teologia e cosmologia*, a cura di Concetto Martello, Roma (Aracne editrice), 2008.

## CHAPTER 12

### BOETHIUS and Theodoricus Carnotensis (†ca. 1154)

The Golden Age of the School of Chartres situates itself, *grosso modo*, between the years 1124 and 1154<sup>253</sup>. During this period, the Chancellors of the School were successively Bernardus Carnotensis (\*ca. 1124-†1126), Gilbertus Porretanus (Gilbert de la Porrée, \*ca. 1126-†1141)<sup>254</sup>, Theodoricus Brito Carnotensis (\*ca. 1141-†1154)<sup>255</sup>; Guillelmus de Conchis (\*ca. 1080-†ca. 1154), though never Chancellor, was also in this period one of the principal Masters of the School, and made a lasting contribution to its legacy<sup>256</sup>. Theodoricus Carnotensis, of whom we know

---

<sup>253</sup> Édouard Jeuneau, *L'âge d'or des écoles de Chartres*, Chartres (Éditions Houvet), 1995, 2000; Haijo Westra (ed.), *From Athens to Chartres. Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought*. Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeuneau, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 35, Leiden (Brill), 1992; René M. Quérigo, *The Golden Age of the School of Chartres: The Teachings of a Mystery School and eternal Feminine*, London (Rudolf Steiner Press), 2008, ISBN-13: 9780863156724.

<sup>254</sup> Gilbertus Porretanus (Gilbert of Poitiers, \*ca. 1126-†1141): cf. N. M. Häring, S.A.C., *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers*, Studies and Texts 13, Toronto (PIMS), 1966; F. W. Bautz, BBKL: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/g/gilbert\\_v\\_p.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/g/gilbert_v_p.shtml).

<sup>255</sup> Constant J. Mews, "Philosophy and Theology 1100 – 1150: the Search for Harmony", in *Le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Cahiers du Léopard 3, Paris (Le Léopard d'Or), 1994, p. 159-203 (p. 190-203: notes 1-180), see p. 173-177.

<sup>256</sup> Guillelmus de Conchis (\*ca. 1080-†ca. 1154): William of Conches taught at Chartres between 1120 and 1154. His commentaries on the Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae* in his *Philosophia mundi* (ca. 1125) are modelled after those of Remigius of Auxerre (841-ca. 908) and of Adalbold of Utrecht (ca. 961-1026); Guylène Hidrio, "Philosophie et Sagesse divine dans les premières enluminures du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce (X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): une lecture chrétienne du traité de Boèce", in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris, 2009, Vol. I, p. 203-278, see p. 244, 246-251; *Guillaume de Conches: philosophie et science au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Symposium organized by Barbara Obrist et Irene Caiazza, Paris, CNRS – IRHT, June 1-2, 2007): <http://www.irht.cnrs.fr/sites/all/files/colloque-guillaume-de-conches.pdf>; *Guillelmi de Conchis Dragmaticon philosophiae*, Italo Ronca (ed.). Opera omnia 1, CCCM 152. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997. ISBN 978-2-503-04521-4;

little, was born, so it seems, in the Region of France called La Bretagne, just south of Normandy<sup>257</sup>. He was one of the important actors in the transition period for European education and general culture between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century. In spite of the fragmentary state of Thierry's output, his teachings, writings, and commentaries, all well-rooted in the Boethian *corpus*, had not only a lasting and positive impact on his contemporaries<sup>258</sup> and disciples<sup>259</sup>, but also on the new and thriving

---

*Guillelmi de Conchis Glosae super Boetium*, Lodi Nauta (ed.), *Opera omnia* 2, CCCM 158. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999. ISBN 978-2-503-04581-8; *Guillelmi de Conchis Glosae super Platonem*, Édouard Jeuneau (ed.), *Opera omnia* 3, CCCM 203. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006. ISBN 978-2-503-05039-3; Arlima (L. Brun, Sept. 6, 2009): [http://www.arlima.net/eh/guillaume\\_de\\_conches.html](http://www.arlima.net/eh/guillaume_de_conches.html).

<sup>257</sup> Theodoricus Carnotensis or Theodoricus Brito or Tirricus (Thierry of Chartres, †ca. 1154): cf. Detlef Metz, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/t/thierry\\_v\\_c.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/t/thierry_v_c.shtml).

<sup>258</sup> (1) Hugo de Sancte Victore (Hugh of Saint Victor, \*1078-†1141), Paris, BnF, Fonds latin, 15256, 13<sup>th</sup> c., (*Didascalicon*); Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 283, 14<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1r-36r, *Didascalicon* (see f. 10, *De musica*); cf. ed. Charles Henry Buttinger, *Didascalicon: De studio legendi. A critical text* 2.8, Washington, D.C., Catholic University Press, 1939; English translation, Jerome Taylor: *The Didascalicon of Hugh of Saint Victor*, New York, London, Columbia University Press, 1961; Pierre Riché, *Ecoles et enseignement dans le Haut moyen âge*, Paris (Aubier), 1979, p. 247-248.

(2) Bernardus Silvestris (\*ca. 1085-†ca. 1178), Peter Dronke, (ed.), *Cosmographia*, by Bernard Silvestris, Leiden (Brill), 1978, p. 1-64, p. 64-67: Manuscript tradition (Oxford, Laud misc. 515, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Cosmographia*: f. 182r<sup>o</sup>-219r<sup>o</sup>; Raymond Klibansky, "The School of Chartres", in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, Marshall Claggett (ed.), Gaines Post, and Robert Reynolds (Madison: University of Wisconsin P, 1961, p. 8: Manuscript tradition; Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*, Princeton, 1972, p. 12: Manuscript tradition of glosses and commentaries; Nota bene: The *Cosmographia* of Bernardus Silvestris is dedicated to Thierry of Chartres; cf. Winthrop Wetherbee, *The Cosmographia of Bernardus Silvestris*, English translation, New York, 1973 | 1990, p. 65.

<sup>259</sup> (I) Clarembaldus Atrebatensis (Clarembald of Arras, \*ca. 1110-†ca. 1187); cf. N. M. Häring, S.A.C., *Life and works of Clarembald of Arras: a twelfth-century master of the School of Chartres*, Studies and texts 10, Toronto (PIMS), 1965, Clarembald and his Teachers: p. 23-38, Manuscripts: 53-57, *Epistola ad Dominum*: p. 225-226; Peter Dronke, "Thierry of Chartres", p. 358, 359 (note 4); D. B. George, J. R. Fortin (eds.), *The Boethian commentaries of Clarembald of Arras*, University of Notre Dame, 2002; Concetto Martello, *Fisica della creazione: la cosmologia di Clarembaldo di Arras. Tractatulus super librum*

urban humanitarian institution, the *Studia generalia*, and, consequently, on the *Unity of Culture* of 12<sup>th</sup>-century Europe<sup>260</sup>.

Thierry was, so it seems, the younger brother of Bernardus Carnotensis<sup>261</sup>. He had a good understanding of the scientific-philosophical-ethical *Tradition of Knowledge*, and left to posterity commentaries on various themes of the Boethian *corpus*, as well as a compilation of texts in two volumes on the the sevenfold canon of the *Liberal arts*, entitled *Heptateuchon*<sup>262</sup>.

---

*Genesis. Testo traduzione e commento*, (Symbolon. Studi e testi di filosofia antica e medievale, 18), Catania, CUECM, 1998, 515 pages ;

(2) Ioannis Saresberiensis (John of Salisbury, \*ca.1115/20-†1180); C. J. Nederman (ed.), *John of Salisbury. Policraticus*, (ed. and tr.), Cambridge, 2000; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Policraticus I-IV. CCCM*, 117, Turnhout (Brepols), 1993; J. B. Hall and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Metalogicon, CCCM*, 98, Turnhout (Brepols), 1991; Jan van Laarhoven (ed. and tr.), *Entheticus Maior et Minor, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 17, Leiden (Brill), 1987; W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler (ed. and tr.), *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, 2 vols. Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford (Clarendon), 1979 | 1986; Michael Wilks, ed., *The World of John of Salisbury*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3, Oxford (Blackwell), 1984; D. McGarry (ed.), *The Metalogicon, a twelfth-century defense of the verbal and logical arts of the trivium*, (ed. and tr.), Berkeley, 1955; Arlima: [http://www.arlima.net/il/john\\_of\\_salisbury.html](http://www.arlima.net/il/john_of_salisbury.html); U. Krolzik, BBKL: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/Johannes\\_v\\_sali.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/Johannes_v_sali.shtml); Centre National de Recherche Scientifique [CNRS–France] (UPR841– Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes): [http://bibliotheque.irht.cnrs.fr/opac/index.php?lvl=author\\_see&id=4368](http://bibliotheque.irht.cnrs.fr/opac/index.php?lvl=author_see&id=4368); <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/john-salisbury/>.

<sup>260</sup> Karin M. Fredborg (ed.), *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries of Thierry of Chartres*, Studies and Texts 84, Toronto (PIMS), 1988, p. 1-43; Peter Dronke, “Thierry of Chartres”, in *A history of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, Cambridge, 1988 and 1992, Chapter 13, p. 358-383.

<sup>261</sup> Bernard of Chartres; cf. Peter Dronke, “Thierry of Chartres”, p. 358 (note 2).

<sup>262</sup> *Heptateuchon*: Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres, manuscripts 497-498, 12<sup>th</sup> c. This compilation of texts in two volumes, with prologue by Thierry of Chartres, is dedicated to the seven *Liberal arts*, and, as of April, 2010, it remains still unedited. The *editio princeps* of the two manuscripts is at present in planning at the CNRS (IRHT), Paris and Orléans, France, Project Director: Dominique Poirel; Peter Dronke, “Thierry of Chartres”, p. 360 (note 15).

In the same manner that Fulbert's information data was transmitted to posterity by his disciples (Adelman and Ragimbold), so it was with Thierry of Chartres, whose information data was transmitted to us through the correspondence and commentaries of his two devoted disciples Clarembaldus Atrebatensis (Clarembald of Arras) and Johannes Sarisbierensis (John of Salisbury).

It is useful here to give the detailed references of Thierry's commentaries on the various works of Boethius, according to N. Häring. These references will be indicated with their respective manuscript traditions based on the research of W. Jansen<sup>263</sup> and N. Häring<sup>264</sup>.

---

<sup>263</sup> Wilhelm Jansen, *Der Kommentar des Clarembaldus von Arras zu Boethius de Trinitate. Ein Werk aus der Schule von Chartres im 12. Jahrhundert*, Breslau, 1926, (Reprint, Frankfurt-am-Main), 1975.

<sup>264</sup> Nikolaus M. Häring, S.A.C., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, Studies and Texts 20, Toronto (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies), 1971: Introduction, p. 19-51, I. *Commentum super Boethii Librum de Trinitate*, p. [55]-116; II. *Commentum super Boethii Librum de Hebdomadibus* (Fragmentum Admuntense), p. [117]-121 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 49, 99v<sup>o</sup>-100v<sup>o</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> c.); III. *Lectiones in Boethii Librum de Trinitate*, p. [123]-229 (Paris BnF, Fonds latin 14489, f. 1-62, 12<sup>th</sup> c.); IV. *Commentarius in Boethii Librum Contra Eutychem et Nestorium* (Fragmentum Londinense), p. [231]-256; V. *Glosa super Boethii Librum de Trinitate*, p. [257]-300 (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Latin in-folio 817, f. 59-77, 12<sup>th</sup> c.); VI. *Tractatus de Trinitate*, p. [301]-310 (Paris BnF, Fonds latin 14489, f. 62-67, 12<sup>th</sup> c.); VII. *Abbrueiatio Monacensis*, p. [311]-477 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 6942, f. 74-129, 15<sup>th</sup> c.); VIII. *Commentarius Victorinus*, [479]-528 (Paris BnF, Fonds latin 14489, f. 67-95, 12<sup>th</sup> c.); IX. *Glosa Victorina*, [529]-551 (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Latin in-folio 817, f. 59-77, 12<sup>th</sup> c.); X. *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, p. [553]-575; Appendices: Authors and Sources used by the Commentators, p. [589]-582; Authors, Works, Editors, Places, and Manuscripts p. [583]-588; Glossary, p. [589]-619; Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle on the substance of matter (*Materia*), and commentary on the concept of the Trinity, p. 76: line 62 to p. 84: line 96; *Mathematica*: p. 160: line 9 to p. 165: line 87, *De arithmetica*: p. 267: l. 87, 94, *De musica*: p. 499: line 94, *Consolatio Philosophiae*: p. 156: l. 61 to p. 66, p. 165: l. 81 to p. 85, *Sufficientia*, *Summum bonum*: p. 555: l. 24.

### Mention of Thierry of Chartres by Clarembald of Arras:

- (1) “*magister Theodoricus meus doctor*”,... “*totius Europe philosophorum precipius*”; *Epistola ad Dominum*, ed. Häring, p. 53-57 (Manuscripts), 225-226 (Clarembaldi *Epistola ad Dominum*);
- (2) “*Magister Tirricus super locum illum posuit deus firmamentum in medio aquarum*”; ed. Häring, *Commentaries*, p. 19, 46: Thierry’s commentary on Genisis; cf. Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek 153, f. 109v°-132, see citation on f. 110v°.

### Thierry’s Commentaries – Manuscript Tradition:

- **Berlin** [Germany-10785], Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, lat. *in-folio* 817, f. 59-77, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Glosa Boethii De trinitate*, Provenance: Celestines of Paris; cf. Alfred Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, vol. 2, p. 89-100 •
- **Cambrai** [France-59300], (*siglum*: C), Bibliothèque municipale 339, f. 74v°-81v°, 13<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •
- **Erlangen** [Germany-91052], (*siglum*: E), Universitätsbibliothek 182, (Irmischer 229), f. 66-103v°, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum Boethii De trinitate uel Librum hunc*, Provenance: Heilsbronn, diocese of Eichstätt, Ordo Cisterciensis •
- **London** [England | UK-WC1B 3DG], (*siglum*: W), British Museum, Cotton Claudius B. IX., f. 1-10v°, 15<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •
- **London**, British Museum, Royal 8. C.V., f. 43-46, 12<sup>th</sup> - 13<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Lectiones super Boethii Contra Eutychen et Nestorium* •
- **München** [Munich, Germany-80539], (*siglum*: M), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 2580, f. 1-65v°, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum super Boethii De trinitate uel Librum hunc*, Provenance: Aldersbach, diocese of Passau, Ordo Cisterciensis •
- **Oxford**, (*siglum*: A), Bodleian Library, Lyell 49, 382, f. 81-99v°, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum Boethii De trinitate uel Librum hunc*, Provenance: Admont Ordo sancti Benedicti, Steinmark, Austria •
- **Oxford**, (*siglum*: A), Bodleian Library, Lyell 49, f. 99v°-100v° 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum super Boethii De hebdomadibus uel Fragmentum Admontense*, Provenance: Admont Ordo sancti Benedicti, Steinmark, Austria •
- **Paris**, (*siglum*: P), BnF, Fonds latin 647, f. 167-73, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •
- **Paris**, (*siglum*: A), BnF, Fonds latin 3584, f. 1v°-10, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •
- **Paris**, (*siglum*: S), BnF, Fonds latin 13418, f. 106-113, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •

- **Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 14489, f. 1-62, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Abbeuiatio Monacensis* (commentary on *De Hedomadibus, Contra Eutychen*) •
- **Paris**, (siglum: Q) BnF, Fonds latin 15601, f. 98-100, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •
- **Paris**, (siglum: R), BnF, Fonds latin 18096, f. 45-48, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •
- **Tours** [France-37000], (siglum: T), Bibliothèque municipale, 85, f. 181-183v°, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •
- **Tours**, (siglum: T), Bibliothèque municipale, 300, f. 67-70v°, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum super Boethii De trinitate uel Librum hunc*, Provenance: Saint-Martin, Tours, Ordo sancti Benedicti •
- **Vaticano** [Italy-00120], (siglum: V), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis latinus 535, f 2-12, 13<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* •

### Observations on Thierry of Chartres

In this brief research on Thierry of Chartres within the context of 12<sup>th</sup>-century scholasticism<sup>265</sup>, we have observed several important elements: (1) Thierry's teachings and commentaries were well-enracinated in the Boethian *corpus*, (2) Thierry had indeed a broad understanding of the scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, (3) Thierry understood the importance of protecting and safeguarding the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of one of Europe's finest thinkers, that is to say Boethius, who was indeed a key protagonist in the wise management and development of civilization, education and general culture. This research shows as well Thierry's will and courage to maintain the intellectual and cognitive hygiene, necessary for a healthy birth of the new and vibrant

---

<sup>265</sup> Vera Rodrigues, "Thierry de Chartres, lecteur du *De Trinitate* de Boèce", in *Boèce ou la chaîne des savoirs. Actes du Colloque international Singer-Polignac*, Alain Galonnier, (ed.), Louvain, Paris (Peeters Publishers), *Philosophes médiévaux* 44, 2003, 36 études, XVIII-789 pages, p. 649-663; Pasquale Porro "Angelic measures: Aevum and discrete time", in *The Medieval Concept of Time. The Scholastic Debate and its Reception in Early Modern Philosophy*, Pasquale Porro (ed.), Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 75, Leiden (Brill), 2001, p. 131-160. **Nota bene:** This collective work, enriched with Bibliography, Index codicum, Index nominum, consists of 21 studies, 19 in English, 2 in French, subdivided into five main sections, entitled respectively: (1) *The Late Antique Legacy*, (2) *The Scholastic Debate*, (3) *Late Scholasticism*, (4) *Time and Medicine*, (5) *Early Modern Philosophy*.



urban humanitarian institution, *Studia generalia*, then later *Universitas magistrorum atque scholarium uel discipulorum* [*discipularumque*]. Indeed, this new urban humanitarian educational structure would, little by little, replace the monastic and cathedral schools, from which it naturally emerged, and from which, with all the transitional tensions implied, it would naturally draw its *substantia vitae*.



---

## EPILOGUE: THE LEGACY OF BOETHIUS

---

## EPILOGUE

### THE LEGACY OF BOETHIUS

This study, *Boethius. His Influence on the European Unity of Culture: from Alcuin of York (†804) to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)*, is indeed thoughtfully designed (a) to bring better into focus the role, which the life, works, glosses, commentaries, and the memory of Boethius played in the shaping of the *European Unity of Culture*, in the maintenance of wisdom and cognitive hygiene in the framework of civilization management and development, in the birth of the *Studia generalia*, that is to say the primitive mediæval university; (b) to show that the Boethian research, teachings, glosses and commentaries, guiding science, philosophy, ethics over the centuries, are still very cogent and relevant to all school *curricula* of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Indeed, it must be remembered that the Boethian *corpus* (texte, glosses, commentaries) made up a major part of the basic research and teaching *curricula* for one of the most important cultural-humanitarian structures to which the mediæval urban society gave birth, that is to say the university itself<sup>266</sup>, principal vector of the sevenfold canon of the *Liberal Arts*<sup>267</sup>. To be sure, the Boethian output on the sevenfold canon of the liberal arts, completed by his five *Opuscula sacra*, his *Consolatio Philosophiae*<sup>268</sup>, and their multiple glosses and commentaries, all furnished a rich intellectual, scientific-philosophical, and spiritual-ethical *humus* for the newly conceived *Studia generalia* in Europe, the nourishing effects of which are still strongly felt, and indeed still strongly needed, in the schools and universities of today.

---

<sup>266</sup> Reminder: The first of the European universities was the University of Bologna, Italy, founded in 1088; *supra*, p. 46: note 13.

<sup>267</sup> Reminder: *Quadrivium: ars arithmetica, ars musica, ars geometrica, ars astronomica* • *Tivium: ars grammatica, ars dialectica-logica, ars rhetorica*. The Boethian study program of the Liberal arts formed the basic *curriculum* at the *Facultas artium* (Faculty of the Arts), from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; see Incunabula: Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica*, Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 20 May 1488; Boethius, *De institutione musica*, Venezia: 1491-1492, 1497-1499, Basel, 1546, 1570; Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 2 Sept. 1500.

<sup>268</sup> Reminder: The Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae* is a five-book dialogue between Boethius and Dame Philosophy (i. e. Divine Wisdom); it develops the theme of the wise management of happiness and suffering. It was his very last treatise written in *prosimetrum* form, that is to say the alternation of sections in poetry and sections in prose.

Boethius, then, as this brief historical and *proto-philological* research has endeavoured to show, was indeed the ideal receptacle (ἡ ὑποδοχή, ἡ χώρα) for the transmission of the *Tradition of Knowledge* which preceded him, as of Plato (\*ca. 428/427-†ca. 348/347 BCE), as well as the ideal reservoir and source (τὸ ὑποδοχεῖον, ἡ κρήνη) from which drew abundantly masters, pupils, and students who came after him, from Alcuin of York (†804) to Thierry of Chartres (†1154), and beyond. Boethius, to be sure, was one of the key actors in the structuring of the European *Unity of Culture*, and his *opera omnia* became, as of the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century so it seems, an indispensable companion to the new branch of the Carolingian scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, introduced on the Continent principally by Alcuin of York and his fellow “*scotti peregrini*” (cf. *supra*, p. 55: note 34). The teachings of Boethius became the foundation of the subsequent *curricula* of the monastic and cathedral schools of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian periods. Thus, Boethius, the Man, the Philosopher, the Scientist, the Proto-Philologist, the Teacher, the Master, the Statesman, and Public Administrator, set before us a combination of very elevated standards of total education, science, philosophy, ethics, and general culture. By virtue then of his παιδεία, his *humanitas*, his *eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*, by virtue of his research and its outreach, by virtue of his teachings and pedagogy, his spirit, and elevated conduct, and finally by virtue of his total *persona*, Boethius comes to the forefront as being a powerful bridge between two civilisations in the realm of the scientific, philosophical, and ethical-moral *Tradition of Knowledge*. This composite *Tradition of Knowledge* became subsequently the basis of the new European *Unity of Culture*, and paved the way for the *Studia generalia*, that is to say the primitive phase of the European university, born out of the mediæval urban society of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The pertinency and the longevity of Boethius’ research, teachings, and pedagogy are best explained by his fundamental understanding of the ancient scientific-philosophical-ethical-moral *Tradition of Knowledge*, and are illustrated in the following fundamental concepts which Boethius studied assiduously, taught, and bequeathed, unbeknownst to himself, to posterity:

- (a) the concept of the *substantia numeri*<sup>269</sup>;
- (b) the concept of the *animae generatio*<sup>270</sup>;
- (c) the concepts of the *cognitio et perceptio*<sup>271</sup>;
- (d) musical notations<sup>272</sup>;
- (e) *ars dialectica (decem categoriae uel praedicamenta)*<sup>273</sup>;

<sup>269</sup> *Substantia numeri* (essence of number): Boethii *De arithmetica* I,2, I,7, II,2, key element in comprehending the substance of true ideas, in close relationship with the *principalitas unitatis*, that is to say the primacy of the number 1, the *continua proportio superparticularis*, that is to say the *regime of the octave* and its management of the formation of all musical intervals, (Boethii *De arithmetica* II,2; II,54; *De musica* I,10; I,11; II,8; V,6,11,12).

<sup>270</sup> *Animae generatio* (genesis of the soul): Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* II,2) or ‘*anima mundi*’ (Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1), in very close relationship with the concept of the ‘*substantia numeri*’, and with the *regime of the octave* and the formation of musical intervals (ἡ ἁρμονία), both of which are indispensable to a full understanding of the origin of the cognitive process, that is to say the genesis of the soul (ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς γένεσις), whose numerical value and intervallic musical structure, according to the careful observations of Plato in his treatise *Timaios or on Nature* ¶35-36, are as follows:  $1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4 \rightarrow 9 \rightarrow 8 \rightarrow 27 \rightarrow 243 \rightarrow 256$ .

<sup>271</sup> *Cognitio, perceptio sensuum* (cognitive process): Boethii *De institutione musica* I, 1 ; I, 14, text and glosses), also in very close relationship with the concept of the ‘*substantia numeri*’ as well as with that of the *ethos of modes* and the philosophy of sound (φθόγγος, -ου (ὁ) • φθέγγεσθαι • *phthongos*, *De musica* I,1; I,8).

<sup>272</sup> Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* IV,3,4,16,17.

<sup>273</sup> *Ars dialectica*: The 10 Categories (Greek: αἱ δέκα κατηγορίαι, or τὰ δέκα κατηγορούμενα, Latin: *decem praedicamenta*) are as follows: τί ἐστὶ (*qualitates* = substance-essence), ποσόν (*quantitas* = the how much), ποιόν (*formae* = the what nature), πρὸς τι (*aequalitates* = the relative), ποῦ (*loca* = the where), ποτέ (*tempora* = the when), κεῖσθαι (*habitus* = attitude), ἔχειν (*proprietas* = possession), ποιεῖν (*actus* = action), πάσχειν (*dispositions* = passion), (*De arithmetica* I,1; In categorias Aristotelis libri IV). Nota bene: The 10 Categories are attributed by Boethius to the Pythagoreans, namely to Archytas o Tarantinos: “*et archytas pythagoricus ante aristotelem licet quibusdam sit ambiguum decem haec praedicamenta constituit*”; cf. Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* II,41; ed. G. Friedlein, p. 139; J.-Y. Guillaumin, *Boèce. Institution arithmétique*, p. 142, p. 220: n. 120, 121; Illo Humphrey, *Boethius De institutione arithmetica libri duo...*, Ottawa, 2007, p. 27, p. 152; I. Hadot, *Simplicius. Commentaire sur les Catégories*, fascicule 1, Leiden, 1990, p. 5, 6, 7; T. A. Szlezák, *Pseudo-Archytas über die Kategorien*, Berlin • New

- (f) the concept of the *quinque res* or *quinque voces*<sup>274</sup>;
- (g) the concept of the *summum bonum* or *summa bona*<sup>275</sup>.

The above concepts comprise essentially the παιδεία of Boethius, that is to say his *humanitas, eruditio institutioque in bonas [liberales] artes* (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae* XIII,17), in other words his composite *general culture*<sup>276</sup>. His very thorough παιδεία made of him therefore a

---

York, 1972; L. Tarán, *Asclepius of Tralles, Commentary to Nicomachus' Introduction to Arithmetic*, [Greek with English translation], Philadelphia, (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (4) 59), 1969,

Ἀσκληπιός ὁ Τραλλιανός (Asklipiós o Trallianós), i. e. Asclepius of Tralles, 6<sup>th</sup> c., a. D.; cf. *supra*, Chapter 2: note 59.

<sup>274</sup> *Quinque res or quinque voces* (the five universal things or the five voices): τὸ γένος (*genus* = genre), τὸ εἶδος (*species* = species), ἡ διαφορά (*differentia* = difference), τὸ ἴδιον (*proprium* = proper), ἡ συμφορά (*accidens* = accident), (*De arithmetica* I,1; In *Porphyrii eisagogen* edition I, and edition II).

<sup>275</sup> *Summa bona [diuina humanae]*, that is to say the science and practice of supreme wisdom (in Greek: τὰ ἀγαθὰ • θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, ἡ φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια: *wisdom and hygiene* • ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ κάλλος: *temperance and beauty* • ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς: *justice and power* • ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος: *courage and wealth*; in Latin *Sapientia: prudentia, temperantia, iustitia, fortitudo*). These are the cardinal virtues, which correspond to the biblical treatise on wisdom found in the Book of Proverbs 9, verse 1. These cardinal virtues constitute the summit of goodness: *wisdom and hygiene, temperance and beauty, justice and power, courage and wealth*, according to Plato's *Laws or Legislations* I,VI: 631-C: Paris, BnF, Fonds grec, 1807, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 157v, text, glosses; cf. W. C. Greene, *Scholia Platonica*, p. 303; Ciceronis *Partitiones oratoriae* 76-79; Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae* III, prosae 2, 10, 12; Macrobi *Commentarium in somnium Scipionis* I, 8, 8, ("quattuor uirtutes animae"); Cassiodorus: *Institutiones*, II,2: 5-7; Isidorus Hispalensis *Etymologiarum*, II, 24: 5-6; Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 1, 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 215v<sup>o</sup>; Illo Humphrey, "La philosophie de l'image dans l'iconographie carolingienne", in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Vol. 1, Chapter 3, p. 283-317.

<sup>276</sup> **Nota bene:** *General culture* must not be confused with *general knowledge*. *General culture* is an interior and completely assimilated *ensemble* of concepts, which influences the consciousness, the behavior, the comportment, human relations, interaction with the *flora and fauna*, interaction with the biosphere, the spiritual-physical-emotional-sensorial-cognitive process, and has an impact as well, so it meems, on the genome, and on the DNA.

true, reliable, and fundamental source of scientific-philosophical research, of proto-philology, of pedagogy, and above all a fundamental source of spiritual-ethical-intellectual wisdom and cognitive hygiene. Indeed, these qualities allowed Boethius to become one of the principal influences in the management and development of the post-Roman civilization, as of the new branch of the Carolingian, post-Carolingian, Ottonian, post-Ottonian scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, and ultimately in the shaping of the European *Unity of Culture* in its entirety. In the final analysis, these combined qualities allowed him to be rightfully numbered ‘*inter omnes priscae auctoritatis viros*’ (“among all the ancient [venerable wise] men of authority”, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* I,1).

In this perspective, we can now better measure the impact of Boethius on the Carolingian general culture from Alcuin of York to Thierry of Chartres, and, above all his subtle and fundamental influence on the European *Unity of Culture*, which contributed largely to the birth of the *Studia generalia*, or *Uniuersitas magistrorum ac discipulorum*, a fundamentally humanitarian institution born out of the mediæval urban society of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thus, in the same manner that the mediæval Hôtel-Dieu (*Hostelarium Dei*), Hostel of God, that is to say the mediæval Hospital founded in Paris by Bishop Landry in the year 651, ensured the maintenance of public assistance, public sanitation, public hygiene, and public health, likewise, the fundamental role of this urban mediæval humanitarian institution was, and still is, the maintenance of intellectual and cognitive hygiene in order to ensure, primarily, a functional equilibrium between the two opposing forces of *Knowledge* and *Ignorance*. Equally important, its role is to ensure a continued protection and safeguard of humanity’s tangible and intangible cultural heritage, within the framework of wise civilization management and wise civilization development, following the model laid down by Boethius. The European *Unity of Culture* is therefore greatly indebted to him, to his research, his teachings, his pedagogy, his spirit, his elevated conduct, in short his total *persona*. Therein lies the legacy of Anicius Torquatus Manlius Severinus Boethius, the last great Platonic philosopher of Antiquity, born in Rome *circa* a. D. 480, died in Pavia, *circa* a. D. 524.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, it is fitting to end this study with the well-known anonymous *carmen boethianum*, “*Ad mensam Philosophiae sitientes currite*”, composed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and copied at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, so it seems, at the Normand monastery of Saint-Évroult (F-61550, Orne). This poem, written in honour of Boethius, has come down

to us in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript from Saint-Évroult, conserved today in Alençon (France-61000, Orne), Médiathèque de la Communauté urbaine *codex* 10, where it occupies the 35 long lines of folio 94r<sup>o277</sup>. It is composed in iambic pentameters, and provides a good insight into both the Greek and Latin sources of Boethius' *παιδεία*, *humanitas*, and *eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*, as well as a detailed outline of the major themes of his research, his proto-philology, and teachings.

Thus• notwithstanding the turning and turning of the *Rota Fortunae*  
and thanks to the ever-burning *Ignis Philosophiae*•

Boethius took his rightful place at the table of Philosophy• at last•  
and drank from the sevenfold sources of wisdom at his final Vesper repast •

- [1] Ad mensam philosophiae sitientes currite • Et saporis tripartiti septem rivos bibite • Vno fonte procedentes •  
[2] non eodem tramite • Quem Pithagoras rimatus excitauit phisicæ • Inde Socrates et Plato honestarunt  
[3] ethicæ • Aristotiles loquaci desponsauit logicæ • Ab his seccæ multiformes athenis materiam • Nactæ  
[4] hoc liquore totam irrigarunt greciam • Quæ redundens infinite • fluxit in hisperiam •  
[5] Non tamen sine ductore uel tuto remigio • Quia nauem gubernantes maro atque cicero •  
[6] centum nautas ascuerunt quenque<sup>1</sup> suo studio • Sic uecta<sup>2</sup> philosophia minas uicit æquoris • Nostram [sic] sumens elementa  
[7] pro achiuis litteris • Tandem loca uenit roman perfluenta tibridis • Erat enim roma potens bellorum  
[8] uictoriis • Et ut omnes gentes suis subiecit imperiis • Sic decebat ut præstaret gemmis philosophicis •  
[9] has a<sup>3</sup> sese tulliana torsit eloquentia • Eius tonat uehementer trifida rethorica • his imbuta pulsit  
[10] astra man<sup>4</sup>ana<sup>4</sup> fistula • hinc non paucis euolutis armorum curriculis • Seuerinus<sup>5</sup> his successit in  
[11] nullo dissimiles • Qui phylosophiam [sic] spectant multo maior meritis • Præter hunc et supradictos  
[12] extiterunt plurimi • preceptores<sup>6</sup> ac poetæ uel historiograpi • Quorum quosdam hic dicamus nam  
[13] conuenit ordini • hi sunt Plautus • Naso • Flacus • Neuius • Terencius • Lucanus • Varro • Stacius • Sa  
[14] lustius • Plinius • Quintilianus • Iuuenalis • Persius • Ennius • Cato • Catulus • Macer • et Macrobius •  
[15] Martianus • Victorinus • Donatus • et Seruius • Priscianus primæ artis restaurator strenuus •  
[16] Multos tamen et prestantes uertimus et liquimus • Quia quedam hic libare nitimur ex artibus • Profutura studiosis  
[17] harum faculatibus • Primæ sedis fundamento presidens grammatica • Perter<sup>7</sup> denas atque ternas partes est diuidua •  
[18] Inprimis [sic] quinque pertita perbis (sic) quaternaria • Hæc in ipsis studiorum // discitur // <sup>8</sup>  
[19] dicitur<sup>9</sup> crepuundiis • Et subope instrumenta uiam parat caeteris • Informando edocendo infinitis  
[20] regulis • Huic secunda sociatur ciuilis rethorica • et uerbosa super omnes partibus quaternaria • gernerat // causerum // <sup>10</sup>  
[21] musarum<sup>11</sup> tria cuius est [sic] materia • hæc forenses lites sedat • causas agit clamitat • Discernendo  
[22] recusando defendendo iudicat • Et quo uult leges retorquet • dicit negat implicat •  
[23] Cuius // genere communis // <sup>12</sup> hinc est dialectica, quæ natura prior extat etiam grammatica •  
[24] dum cunctas ligat et soluit peruideri nescia • Hæc diffinit et discernit diuidit et asserit • ratiocinari  
[25] potens • uincens inuincibilis • Quam lampas clarificauit manliani<sup>13</sup> luminis • Transtulit  
[26] hanc resoluendo binis analeticis • Introducens isagogas binis conmentariis • Et idem kategorias cum  
[27] per[h]ermeriis • Topica cum sillogismis atque differentiis • diffinitionum librum cum diuisionibus  
[28] expliciuit • addens unum propositionibus • hinc abstractas quantitates edocet quadruium [sic] • Nostris et  
[29] simphoniis mensuris que proprium • Et perpendit caeli uias cursus atque siderum • huius quattuor in par  
[30] tes soluitur scientia • enarranda binis formis sui sub essentia • hinc testatus seuerini<sup>14</sup> diligens  
[31] sollertia • Quarum prima ceterarum mater arithmetica • Et posteam [sic] septem uocum moderatrix mu  
[32] sica • Tercia geometria • hinc ars astrologica • hæc perpendit caelum terram • solem • et zodiacum •  
[33] lunam polos parabellis • axem decem circulos • Stellarumque inotus situs in occasum geminos •  
[34] Exultate papienses ciues inclitissimi • apud quos quiescunt ossa insignis BOECII<sup>15</sup> • vos his  
[35] riuus madescentes<sup>16</sup> [sic] iure post eximii • [Explicit.]



<sup>1</sup>quenque [sic] (quemque); <sup>2</sup>ucta [?] [sic] [K. Strecker → recta]; <sup>3</sup>a<sup>d</sup> [sic]; <sup>4</sup>man<sup>u</sup>ana [sic]; <sup>5</sup>**Seuerinus** (Anicius Manlius [Torquatus] Seuerinus Boethius); <sup>6</sup>Preceptores [sic] (Præceptores); <sup>7</sup>Perter [sic] (Praeter) <sup>8</sup>/// discitur [?] /// [sic: discitur added in margin]; <sup>9</sup>dicitur [sic: dicitur cancelled]; <sup>10</sup>/// causarum [?] /// [sic: causerum added in margin]; <sup>11</sup>musarum [?] [sic: musarum cancelled]; <sup>12</sup>/// genere communis [?] /// [sic]; <sup>13</sup>**manliani** luminis (lumen Manlii Boethii); <sup>14</sup>**seuerini** (Seuerini Boethii); <sup>15</sup>**BOECH** (Anicii Manlii [Torquati] Seuerini Boethii); <sup>16</sup>malescentes [sic] [K. Strecker → clarescentes].

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Alençon, Médiathèque de la Communauté urbaine d'Alençon (Bibliothèque municipale), ms. 10, f. 94r°, 12<sup>th</sup> century, *ineunte saeculo*, originating from the Normand monastery of Saint-Évroult-Notre-Dame-du-Bois en Pays d'Ouche (F-61550, Orne, Normandie); F. Ravaisson, *Rapport sur les bibliothèques des départements de l'Ouest*, Paris, 1841, p. 404 – 406, cf. Migne, *P. L.*, 151, 729-732; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Die Cambriger Lieder*, K. Strecker (ed.), Berlin, 1926, 3<sup>e</sup> edition: Berlin, 1955, p. 113–115; [http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost11/CarminaCantabrigiensia/can\\_carm.html](http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost11/CarminaCantabrigiensia/can_carm.html): Appendix II, Bibliotheca Augustana; Philippe Delhay, *Enseignement et morale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Vestigia 1), 1988, Éditions universitaires, Freiburg, CH | Éditions du Cerf, Paris, EU ISBN 2-8271-0375-3 | EC ISBN : 2-204-02996-3, p. 86, 87, 88; cf. C. J. Mews, “Philosophy and Theology 1100-1150: The Search for Harmony”, in *Le XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, under the direction of Françoise Gasparri, Paris, 1994, p. 159-189 (notes: p. 190-203), see p. 162-163 (notes: 26-29). On the Normand manuscripts of the 12th century copied in the *scriptorium* of Saint-Évroult d'Ouche, see A. Dennerie, “Liturgie et musique au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en l'Abbaye de Saint-Évroult”, in *Le XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 325-347-351), one Plate (Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 10508, f. 6r°), p. 352. In the manuscript Alençon 10, it is useful to note that the poem “*Ad mensam Philosophiae*” contains initials written in red ink, black ink, and green ink, certain of which are written both in red ink and green ink. The 6 initials: **A N h M C E**, at the beginning of lines: 1, 5, 9, 16, 23, 34 are all set apart in the left margin outside of the left justification. Note also that the following symbol: // indicates the places where the scribe made corrections, erasures, or scratchings. This proto-philological critical edition of the poem “*Ad mensam Philosophiae*” was done by Illo Humphrey in July, 2007; it is based on the colour fac-simile furnished by the Médiathèque de la Communauté urbaine d'Alençon, taken from manuscript 10, f. 94r° •

*Bibliothecae Olin Collegii Rollinensis*•

*die martis • pridie nonis aprilis • anno Domini C • bis millesimo decimo*•

(Olin Library & Archives | Rollins College | Winter Park, Florida | Tuesday, April 4, 2010)

• Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR | Mediævalist | Musicologist | Proto-Philologist | 2016 •

• *Explicit* •

---

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

## BOETHIUS AND THE LIBERAL ARTS

### *Quadrivium:*

- ars arithmetica | ars musica | ars geometrica | ars astronomica •

### *Trivium:*

- ars grammatica | ars dialectica / ars logica | ars rhetorica •

Cf. [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=754](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=754)

Studies and Vocabulary on the Liberal Arts:

Bibliography I | Bibliography II | Bibliography III

### BIBLIOGRAPHY I:

**Admonitio generalis:** This major cultural-humanitarian legislation emanates directly from Charlemagne. It was drawn up by Alcuin of York, his Minister of Education and General Culture, and instituted a vast program of education for all the children of the Carolingian Empire based on a combination of the Old and New Testament Christian teachings and the secular *Tradition of Knowledge*, ἡ παιδεία: *humanitas*, and ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία: *artes liberales*, the cycle of the sevenfold canon of the *Liberal Arts*. This very far reaching programme of Education and General Culture, an integral part of the *Renovatio* or *Correctio*, that is to say the *Carolingian Renaissance* introduced by Charlemagne himself, laid the foundation for the school *curricula* leading up to the creation of the *Studia generalia* of the 11th and 12th centuries, that is to say the European mediæval university. The *Admonitio generalis* was promulgated on Monday, the 23rd of March, in the Year 789; cf. Alfred Boretius (ed.), *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Vol. I, MGH, *Legum sectio II* (Vol. I), Hannoverae, 1883, p. 52-62, Capitularium Nr. 22, articles 1 – 82, see p. 60, article 72, *Sacerdotibus*, “...et ut scolae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum [sic], grammaticam, per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate...”; cf. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k952388.image.f5>; for the manuscript tradition of the *Capitularia regum Francorum*, see <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~jurarom/manuscr/Can&RomL/titles/10657.htm> •

**Alcuinus Euboricensis** (Æalhwine, Alchvine, Albinus, Alcuinus dit “Flaccus”, Alcuin of York, \*ca. 732 – †Tours, 804), cf. *De Grammatica*,

ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 101, col. 853-854, et *Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus*; Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 101, col. 947 (§332, IV) •

**Alcuinus Euboricensis** (Æalhwine, Alchvine, Albinus, Alcuinus dit “Flaccus”, Alcuin of York, \*ca. 732 – †Tours, 804), *Alcuinus Ars Grammatica, die lateinische Schulgrammatik der karolingischen Renaissance*, ed. Wilhelm Schmitz, Ratingen (P. J. Brehmen), 1908, 86 pages, cf. Chapter II, p. 19: Die Dialogform der Ars (cf. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 101, *Dialogus: Saxo, Franco, Discipuli, Magister*, col. 854-902), cf. Chapter V, p. 53-67: Bedeutsame Autoren als Quellen im Anfange der Ars: Boethius, p. 55 (note 1, 2), Donatus, Priscianus, p. 56-57 (cf. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 64, col. 297b-306b = Boethii *Peri Hermenias*) •

**Alcuinus Euboricensis** (Æalhwine, Alchvine, Albinus, Alcuinus dit “Flaccus”, Alcuin of York, \*ca. 732 – †Tours, 804), *The Bishop, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Peter Godman, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 1982; cf. *versus* 1434-1449 •

**Amalarius Symphosius Metensis Metensis** (Amalaire of Metz, \*ca. 770 – †ca. 850), was one of the last students of Alcuin of York at Saint-Martin of Tours, where he was successively under-deacon, deacon, before becoming an ordained priest between the years 800 and 803, and was the protagonist of the liturgical reforms of the Carolingian *renovatio* (*Renaissance*). Amalarius is the author of 17 known treatises on liturgy, (that is to say the science of the order, and all the component parts, of worship services), 6 of the 17 treatises were lost at an early date. Here is the catalogue and chronology of his liturgical works according to A. Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, Amsterdam, 1954, p. XI – XII, p. 1-10, 52, 107-114: *De scrutinio et baptismo* (812) • *Eclogae de ordine romano* (2 ed.: 814 et 837 [?]) • *Versus Marini* (814) • *Missae expositionis codex prior* (814) • *Missae expositionis codex altera* (814) • *Canonis missae interpretatio* (814) • *De institutione canonicorum* (817) • *De institutione sancrimonialium* (817) • *Liber officialis* (4 ed. [?]: 821-823, 827, 833, 835 [?]) • *Prologus ad antiphonarium* (837) • *Antiphonarium* (837: lost) • *Prologus ad lectionarium* (837: lost) • *De ordine cantatorii* (837: lost) • *Embolis* (837: lost) • *De diurnalis officio* (837: lost) • *De ordine antiphonarii* (837) • *De praescientia et praedestnatione* (849: lost). of 8 letters of his correspondence have been conserved, one of which is addressed to Peter, Abbot of the Saint-Sylvester Abbey of Nonantola (Northeast Italy) in 814, and another to Hilduin, Abbot of the imperial

Abbey of Saint-Denis around 820. Amalarius was, so it seems at one period, the Bishop of Metz, and was indeed the Archbishop of Trier (ca. 809-813), he was the *missus*, that is to say ambassador, or special envoy, of Charlemagne to Constantinople, in the company of Peter of Nonantola, around the year 813-814; cf. J.-P. Migne, (ed.), *P. L.*, Vol. 105, col. 994 à 1242; *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, Vaticano, I. M. Hanssens, (ed.), 3 vol., (*Studi e Testi* n°s: 138 • 139 • 140), Città del Vaticano: BAV, 1948 • 1948 • 1950, reprint, 1967, Vol. I, p. 39-49, 297, 299; Vol. II, p. 567-580; I. M. Hanssens, “Le texte du *Liber officialis*”, *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 47, 1933, p. 113, and p. 243; G. Morin, “La question des deux Amalaire”, in *Revue bénédictine*, VIII, 1891, p. 433-442; G. Morin, “Encore la question des deux Amalaires”, in *Revue bénédictine*, XI, 1894, p. 241-243; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, t. I, München, 1911, p. 398; H. Leclercq, “Antiphonaire”, in *DACL*, Paris, 1924, t. 1 (Part 2), col. 2454-2456; A. Wilmart, “Un lecteur ennemi d’Amalaire”, *Revue bénédictine*, 31, 1924, p. 317; M. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe a. D. 500 to 900*, London, 1931, p. 357; *Catalogue des manuscrits...*, C. Samaran et Robert Marichal (eds.), Paris, 1981, t. IV Commentary, p. 71, Vol. IV Plates: n° I; **Illo Humphrey**, *Le De arithmetica et le De musica de Boèce dans l’enseignement scientifique et philosophique du Haut Moyen âge. Édition d’un manuscrit du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle (B. n. F., Latin 14064), texte et gloses*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Université de Paris X-Nanterre, Paris-Nanterre, (Fichier Central des Thèses n°: 9413058J), 2004, 5 Volumes, 762 pages, see Volume 1, Chapter 4: “Amalaire de Metz, liturgiste : lecteur des Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* et *De institutione musica* (élève d’Alcuin de 795 à 800 à Saint-Martin de Tours)”, p. 116-118; cf. [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/amalarius\\_v\\_m.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/amalarius_v_m.shtml); Amalarius Metensis, Leiden University Library, manuscripts: VLQ 28. - VGQ 30. - BPL 76, 100: <http://bc.leidenuniv.nl/whs/catalogi/catcomp1/#A> •

**Augustinus (Aurelius)** (Saint Augustine, \*354 – †430), *De ordine*, II,7: 24, II,8: 25, ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 32 (1), col. 977-1019, Liber II, XII (§35), Liber XVI (§44) = *artes liberales* •

**Aulus Gellius** (\*125 – †ca. 185) *Noctes atticae* XIII,17: ‘*Eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*’ (instruction and fundamental learning in the good [liberal] arts) •

**Boethius**, *Consolatio Philosophiae* III,2,10,12: *summum bonum* •

**Boethius**, *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, Prologus (end), I,1, I,2, I,7; II,2, II,41, II,54, cf. **Illo Humphrey** (ed.), *Boethius De institutione arithmetica libri duo. Édition proto-philologique intégrale princeps d'un manuscrit du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 14064), *texte, gloses, notes tironiennes, signes de renvoi*, planches hors-texte, glossaires, Indices, (Thèse de Doctorat, Ph. D., Université de Paris X – Nanterre, 2004, FCT: Fichier central des Thèses, n° 9413058J), Institute of Medieval Music (IMM), Musicological Studies Volume LXXXVI, ISBN: 978-1-896926-90-2, Ottawa, 2007, p. 29, 30, 33, 37; 101, 152, 186; Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064 (9th c.), f. 3, 3v°, 4v°, 6, 38, 64, 81 = *artes liberales: quattuor matheseos disciplinae, quadrivium, praedicamenta, substantia numeri, principalitas unitatis; animae generatio, praedicamenta, quattuor temini*. **Nota bene (1)**: In this fundamental complete proto-philological *princeps* critical edition (text, glosses, cross-reference signs) of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, the author shows clearly, see pages 26, 98, that it was Boethius himself who was the first to annotate, comment, and gloss his own treatise, having identified himself several times in the primitive glosses transmitted in Latin stenography (*tironian notes*), and in clear Latin, conserved in the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064 (f. 2:13-18, f. 37:10-12), copied, so it seems, in the monastery of Corbie at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; cf. **Illo Humphrey**, “Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*: Étude proto-philologique”, in *Carmina Philosophiae* (Journal of the International Boethius Society, USA), n° 14, 2005, p. 57 - 158, ISSN: # 1075-4407. **Nota bene (2)**: This study examines the 5 oldest known manuscripts, all from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, containing the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, namely: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin: 14064, 7183, 13009, 6639, and nouvelles acquisitions latines 1614. This very comprehensive article is divided into seven distinct sections: (1) Historical Study of the treatise Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* | (2) *Proto-philological study and princeps* critical edition of the glosses at the end of the Prologue | (3) Critical glossary of Latin Stenography (158 entries) | (4) Proto-philological palaeography: cross-reference signs | (5) Manuscript Catalogue | (6) Notes | (7) 6 Plates, and furnishes a precise and thorough research tool for scholars, teachers, and students on the 5 oldest known manuscripts containing the treatise Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*. **Nota bene (3)**: In this fundamental proto-philological critical study on the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, the author, once again, shows clearly, see pages 59, 92, 104-110, that it was Boethius himself who was the first to annotate, comment, and gloss his own treatise, having identified himself several times in the primitive glosses transmitted in Latin stenography (*tironian notes*), and in clear Latin, conserved in the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064 (f. 2:13-18, f. 37:10-12), copied in the monastery of Corbie at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century •

**Boethius**, *De institutione musica libri quinque* • (G. Friedlein, Leipzig, 1867; C. M. Bower [English translation], New Haven, 1989; C. Meyer, [Latin-French], Turnhout (Brepols), 2004; ed. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 63, 1167-1300; Illo Humphrey, “Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*: auctor, opus interpres”, Review Essay, Meyer (Christian), ed., *Boèce, Traité de la Musique* (Introduction, traduction, notes), Turnhout, (Brepols), 2004, in *Carmina Philosophiae* (Journal of the International Boethius Society, USA), n° 14, 2005, p. 167 – 175, ISSN: # 1075-4407) •

**Calcidius** (ca. 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century), J. H. Waszink, (ed.), “*Timaeus*” a *Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, (Plato latinus IV), London / Leiden, 1972, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 1975, p. IX-XVII: “De Calcidio”, p. CVI-CXXX: “Elenchus codicum”; p. 1-52: *Timaeus* Platonis, p. 53-346: *Commentarius*, p. 98: “De numeris” §XLIX, *Descriptio tertia*; cf. Manuscripts: Lyon, B. m., 324 (257) 9<sup>th</sup> century, and Valenciennes, B. m., 293 (283), 9<sup>th</sup> century; E. Mensching, “Zur Calcidius Überlieferung”, in *Vigiliae christianae* n° 19, 1965, 43-50; J. Marenbn, *From the Cercle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology, and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge (G.B.), London, 1981, p. 57 et 167; G. Madec, *Jean Scot et ses auteurs: annotations érigéniennes*, Paris, 1988, p. 32 (Calcidius): *Annotationes in Marcianum* 10: 16, p. 49 (Plato): *Annotationes in Marcianum* 10: 16; **Michel Huglo**, “La réception de Calcidius et des *Commentarii* de Macrobie à l’époque carolingienne”, in *Scriptorium*, t. XLIV, 1990, 1, p. 3-20, voir p. 4-10; **Illo Humphrey**, “Les 12 divisions de l’as: leur emploi chez Calcidius et chez Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce* ([*Boethius*]: *Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524*): *l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, **Illo Humphrey** (ed.), Actes des *Colloquia Aquitana II* du 3 au 5 août 2006, Duras (France – 47120), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume 2, Chapter 12, p. 261-274 (Notes: p. 268-274). **Nota bene (1)**: The *Timaeus Platonis* and *Commentarius* are the sole known works of Calcidius which have come down to us. They were known already as of the 6<sup>th</sup> century in Gaule and in Spain, and may also have been known to Alcuin of York, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century; they were cited later in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century by John Scottus Eriugena in his *Annotationes in Marcianum*, 10:16. **Nota bene (2)**: The Calcidius translation, unfinished, corresponds to Plato’s *Tímaios* 17a-53c, whereas Plato’s *Tímaios* begins at 17a and ends at 92c; cf. Th.-H. Martin, *Études sur le Timée de Platon*, Vol. I, p. 57-244, Vol. II, p. 389, 398-399 •

**Cassiodorus (Flavius Magnus Aurelius)** (Cassiodore, \*Scylacium, ca. 480 – †Brutium, ca. 575), *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford, 1937, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 1963, cf. Liber II, p. 110-153 •

**Cassiodorus (Flavius Magnus Aurelius)**, (\*Scylacium, ca. 480-†Brutium, ca. 575), *Variae*, I, XLV: (“Boethio viro inlustri patricio Theodoricus rex, a.D. 507”), 4, ed. Th. Mommsen (ed.), *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi*, t. XII, Berlin, 1894, p. 40: 11; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 69, col. 539 •

**Censorinus** (ca. 238), *De die natali liber ad Q. Caerellium, accedit Anonymi cujusdam Epitoma disciplinarum (Fragmentum Censorini)*, ed. Nicolas Sallmann, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1983; Fridericus Hultsch, *Censorini de die natali liber ad Q. Caerellium*, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1867, cf. ch. XI De musica, ch. XII De modulatione, p. 64-66 •

**Cicero (Marcus Tullius)** (\*106 BCE – †43 BCE), *De oratore* I,71; III,32 [127] = *humanitas; artes liberales* •

**Cicero (Marcus Tullius)** (\*106 BCE – †43 BCE), *Partitiones oratoriae* 76-79: ‘*sumum bonum divinum*’ (Summit of divine Goodness) •

**Cicero (Marcus Tullius)** (\*106 BCE – †43 BCE), *De oratore* I,3,11: *artes liberales* •

**Cicero (Marcus Tullius)** (\*106 BCE – †43 BCE), *Pro Archia Poeta*, II, 2: “Etenim omnes artes quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur” (cf. <http://patriot.net/~lillard/cp/cic.arch.html>) •

**Cicero (Marcus Tullius)** (\*106 BCE – †43 BCE), *De finibus* I, 71 (cf. <http://patriot.net/~lillard/cp/cic.fin1.html#71>) •

**Εὐκλείδης Γέλας** (Eukleídis Gélas, Euclid of Gela, †ca. 275 BCE), *τὰ Στοιχεῖα* (*tà Stoicheîa*, i.e. *The Elements* [which constitute the philosophy of Geometry in 13 Books]), cf. J. L. Heiberg (ed.), Leipzig, 1883-1888, t. I, p. 12-13 reviewed by E. Stamatis, Leipzig, 1969-1973, t. I, p. 7-8; C. E. Ruelle, “Sur l’authenticité probable de la Division du canon attribué à Euclide”, in *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 19, 1906; T. J. Mathiesen, “An annotated Translation of Euclid’s Division of a



Monochord”, in *Journal of Music Theory* 19, 1975, p. 237-259; A. Barker, “Methods and Aims in the Euclidean Sectio Canonis”, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 101, 1981; A. Barbera, “Placing Sectio Canonis in Historical and Philosophical contexte”, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104, 1984; cf. **RISM [Greek]**, B-XI: *Ancient Greek Music Theory, a Catalogue raisonné of Manuscripts*, T. J. Mathiesen (ed.), München, 1988, p. 216: n° 85 (Paris, BnF, Fonds grec 2456, 16<sup>th</sup> c., f. 197v°[196v°] – 205v° [204v°] et 205v° [210v°] - 205v° [209v°]) •

**Εὐκλείδης Γέλας** (Eukleídis Gélas, Euclid of Gela, †ca. 275 BCE) **Κατατομή κανόνος** (*The Division of the Regula [Monochord]*), C. von Jan (ed.), *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, Leipzig, 1895 (Hildesheim, Olms Verlag, 1962), p. 115-147 (Prolegomena), p. 148-166 (critical edition) •

**Γαληνός** ([Klaúdios] Galinós, Pergame, today Bergama, Turkey, \*131 – †Rome, 201-216), ed. C. G. Kühn, *Opera omnia*, 21 Volumes, Leipzig, 1821-1833; *Proptreptique aux arts*, V,7; ed. J. Marquardt, *Galení scripta minora*, Vol. I, p. 105: 15; cf. I. Hadot, *Arts libéraux et la philosophie...*, ch. VI “L’ ‘enkuklios paedeia’: la notion et son contenu”, p. 269 •

**Γαυδέντιος ὁ Φιλόσοφος καὶ Μουσικός, Ἀρμονικὴ εἰσαγωγή** (Gaudéntios o Philósophos kaì Mousikós, Gaudentius, philosopher and theorician of Music, ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> c., a. D. [?]), *Gaudenti Philosophi Harmonica Introductio (Gaudentiou Philosophou Armonikí Eisagogí)*, ed. C. von Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1895; reprint, Hildesheim (Olms Verlag), 1962, cf. Chapter VII, p. 319-326 (prolegomena, in Latin), p. 327-355 (critical edition); cf. **RISM [Greek]**, ed. T. J. Mathiesen: n° 114, p. 279 (Paris, BnF, Supplement grec 449, 16<sup>th</sup> c., f. 240r-250r) •

**Ίάμβλιχος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς (Iámblichos o Chalkideús o Philósophos kaì Mousikós:** Jamblichos of Chalcis in Coele-Syria or Celesyria, philosopher and musician, \*ca. 250 – †ca. 330; studied under **Πορφύριος ὁ Τύριος** [Porphýrios o Týrios]: \*ca. 234 - †ca. 305), *Iámblichou perì bíou Pythagórou (Iamblichí de vita Pythagorica)*, ed. L. Deubner, Leipzig, (Teubner Verlag), 1937, reviewed and corrected by U. Klein, Stuttgart (Teubner Verlag), 1975, p. 68, ¶26: 118, lines 1-23; cf. **RISM [Greek]**, ed. T. J. Mathiesen, n° 169: p. 77, (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana [BML], 86, 3, 14th c., folio not indicated); cf. Paris, Bibiothèque nationale de France [BnF], Fonds grec 2093 (15th c.), f. 1-148v° •

**Isidorus Hispalensis Episcopi** (Isidorus Bishop of Sevilla, \*ca. 560, Archbishop of Sevilla: 601-†636), *Etymologiarum Liber III, De quattuor disciplinis mathematicis*, ed. Migne, P. L., Volume 82, col. 153-183 ; cf. Jacques Fontaine, (ed.), *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, Paris, 1959 • 2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 1983, 3 Volumes, cf. Volume I, p. 341-450, planches 1-3, Volume II, p. 453-589, Volume III, p. 1077-1116 •

**Macrobius (Ambrosius Theodosius)** (5<sup>th</sup> century), *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. L. van Jan, 2 vol., Leipzig, 1848-1852 •

**Macrobius (Ambrosius Theodosius)** (5<sup>th</sup> century), *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, ed. W. H. Stahl, New York (Columbia University Press), 1952; Bruce C. Barker Befield, *The Manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary In somnium Scipionis* [doctoral dissertation], Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 1976; Bruce C. Barker Befield, "A Ninth-Century Manuscript from Fleury: Cato De senectutecum Macrobio", in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to Richard W. Hunt*, Oxford, 1976, p. 145-165; Bruce C. Barker Befield, "Macrobius", in *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds, Oxford, reprint 1986, p. 222-232 •

**Macrobius (Ambrosius Theodosius)** (5<sup>th</sup> century), *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobiani Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, ed. James Willis, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1970 •

**Macrobius (Ambrosius Theodosius)** (5<sup>th</sup> century), *Commentarium in somnium Scipionis* I,8, 8): 'quattuor uirtutes animae': prudentia | iustitia | temperantia | fortitudo = the 4 virtues of the soul: wisdom | justice | temperance | courage •

**Marcus Terentius Varro Reatinus** (\*116-†27 BCE) *Disciplinarum libri novem*; I. Hadot, *op. cit.*, p. 57-58, 156-163; here, I. Hadot refutes the idea that the 9 very fragmentary books of Varro were dedicated to ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, and suggests that it was Porphýrios o Týrios and not Varro, who influenced the Augustini *De ordine* II, 12, in which the sevenfold canon of the artes liberales are clearly outlined; cf. I. Hadot, *Arts libéraux et philosophie...*, p. 187-188 •

**Marcus Vitruvius Pollio** (\*ca. 90-†ca. 20 BCE), *De architectura* I,1,12, ed. F. Krohn, Leipzig (Teubner), 1912: "Cum autem animadverterint

omnes disciplinas inter se coniunctionem rerum et communicationem habere• fieri posse faciliter credent• encyclios enim disciplina uti corpus unum ex his membris est composita•”; I. Hadot, *op. cit.*, p. 265-266. As Cicero, Vitruvius underlines the conceptual conjunction between the *artes liberales* •

**Martianus Minneus Felix Capella** (5<sup>th</sup> century), *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. James Willis, *Martianus Felix Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1983:

- **Liber I:** *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (p. 1-28) •
- **Liber II:** *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (follow-up, p. 28-58) is an allegory on the marriage between *Philologia* et *Mercurius*. Books III through VIII are treatises on the seven Liberal Arts, which are presented in the following order:
- **Liber III:** *De arte grammatica*, p. 58-105 •
- **Liber IIII:** *De arte dialectica*, p. 105-147 •
- **Liber V:** *De rhetorica*, p. 147-201 •
- **Liber VI:** *De geometria*, p. 201-258 •
- **Liber VII:** *De arithmetica*, p. 259-302 •
- **Liber VIII:** *De Astronomia*, p. 302-337 •
- **Liber VIII:** *De harmonia*, p. 337-386, (cf. Liber II, §107, p. 30: lines 21-22), Liber IX, §930 (p. 356: line 1 – p. 357: l. 1), §934 (p. 359: l. 5-7), §951 (p. 366: l. 18- p. 367: l. 2), §952 (p. 367: l. 4-7), §952-953 (p. 367: l. 7), §953 (p. 367: l. 9), §960 (p. 370: l. 1-2), §980 (p. 377: l. 14-15); cf. ed. F. Eyssenhardt, *Martiani Minnei Felicis Capellae De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii libri VIII, accedunt Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Artea*, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1866, cf. Liber I, §11, p. 6: lines 13-23, Liber II, §105-107, p. 29: l. 2-25, Liber VIII, §930, p. 349: l. 1-3, Liber VIII, §960, p. 360: l. 19-21•

**Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός, Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή** (Nicomachos o Gerasinós: Nicomachus of Gerasa, 2<sup>nd</sup> century), *Nikomachou Gerasenou Pythagorikou Arithmetike Eisagoge* (*Nicomachi Geraseni Pythagorei Introductionis arithmeticae libri II, accedunt codicis cizensis problemata arithmetica*), Ricardus Hoche (ed.), Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1864, p. VI, p. 9: I (IV), 1: “τὸν τεσσάρων τούτων μέθοδον”; cf. **RISM [Greek]**, T. J. Mathiesen (ed.): n° 21, p. 57 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 301, 16<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1-32v°); cf. Hoche, ms. *G* = Codex Gottingensis, 10<sup>th</sup> century •

**Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός, Ἐγχειρίδιον** (Nicomachos o Gerasinós, Nicomachus of Gerasa, 2<sup>nd</sup> century), *Nicomachi Geraseni Harmonice Enchiridion* (*Nikomachou Gerasinou Armonikon Egcheiridion Hypagoreuthen eks Hypogyou kata ton Palaion*), Carolus von Jan (ed.), Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1895, reprint, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1995, cf. ch. V(a): p. 211-234 (prolegomena, in Latin), p. 237-265 (critical edition); cf. **RISM [Greek]**, T. J. Mathiesen (ed.): n° 89, p. 231-232 (Paris, BnF, Fonds grec 2460, 16<sup>th</sup> c., f. 82r-93v), n° 270, p. 710-711 (Venetus Marcianus gr. app. cl. VI n° 3, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century, alia manus...in marginibus: f. 17-34v = *Nicomachi Harmonice* libri I, II) •

**Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός, τὰ Ἀνάλεκτα** (Nicomachos o Gerasinós, Nicomachus of Gerasa, 2<sup>nd</sup> century), *Excerpta ex Nicomacho* (*tou autoû Nikomachou*), in *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, Carolus von Jan (ed.), Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1895, reprint, Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1995, cf. ch. V(b): p. 266-282 (critical edition) •

**Πτολεμαῖος (Κλαύδιος), τὰ Ἀρμονικά** (Klaúdios Ptolemaîos o Matematikós, Claudius Ptolemaios, \*ca. 90-†ca.168, mathematician, born in Ptolémaïs Hermiou, today, Menchiyèh, Minîeh [?], died in Canope, city no longer extant, near El-Mamoura [?], ou d'Aboukir, Egypt), *Harmonica*, cf. J. L. Heiberg (ed.), *Claudii Ptolemaei, opera que exstant omnia, Syntaxis mathematica*, Vol. I, pars I (libros, I-VI continens), Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1898, vol. I, pars II (libros VII-XIII continens), Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1903; cf. **RISM [Greek]**, T. J. Mathiesen (ed.): n° 79, p. 204 (Paris, BnF, Fonds grec 2450, 16<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1v-33v); cf. Venetus Marcianus, gr. app. cl. VI n° 10 (12<sup>th</sup> c.); Ingemar Düring (ed.), *Die Harmonielehre des Claudios Ptolemaios*, (Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift n° 36), Göteborg, 1930, (critical edition of the treatise *Harmonica* by Ptolemaîos); reprint in *Ancient Philosophy*, n° 10, New York, 1980, p. 70; Ingemar Düring (ed.), *Porphyrios Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios*, (Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift n° 38), Göteborg, 1932, p. 91-96; Ingemar Düring, *Ptolemaios und Porphyrios über die Musik* (Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift n° 40), Göteborg, 1934; reprint in *Ancient Philosophy*, n° 11, New York, 1980, p. 85-88. **Nota bene:** This work contains a German translation of the treatise *Harmonika* by Klaudios Ptolemaîos. Ingemar Düring, “Greek Music. Its fundamental features and its significance”, in *Journal of World History*, n° 3, 1956, p. 319 •

## BIBLIOGRAPHY II:

**Barbera (André)** (ed.), *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990. Contributors: André Barbera, "Introduction", p. 1-18; Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Ars Critica and Fata Libellorum: The Significance of Codicology to Text Critical Theory", p. 19-37; André Barbera, "Reconstructing Lost Byzantine Sources for MSS Vat. BAV gr. 2338 and Ven. BNM gr. VI.3: What Is an Ancient Music Treatise?", p. 38-67, Jon Solomon, "A Preliminary Analysis of the Organization of Ptolemy's Harmonics", p. 68-84; Amnon Shiloah, "Techniques of Scholarship in Medieval Arabic Musical Treatises", p. 85-99, Nancy Phillips, "Classical and Late Latin Sources for Ninth-Century Treatises on Music", p. 100-135; Michael Bernhard, "Glosses on Boethius' *De institutione musica*", p. 136-149; Michel Huglo, "The Study of Ancient Sources of Music Theory in the Medieval University", p. 150-172; Jeremy Yudkin, "The Influence of Aristotle on French University Music Texts", p. 173-189; F. Alberto Gallo, "Greek Text and Latin Translations of the Aristotelian Musical Problems: A Preliminary Account of the Sources", p. 190-196; Tilman Seebass, "The Illustration of Music Theory in the Late Middle Ages: Some Thoughts on Its Principles and a Few Examples", p. 197-234; Jan Herlinger, "Marchetto's Influence: The Manuscript Evidence", p. 235-258; Cl. V. Palisca, "Boethius in the Renaissance", p. 259-280 •

**Bower (Calvin M.)**, *Fundamentals of Music. Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius*, translated, with Introduction and notes, (Music Theory Translation Series edited by C. V. Palisca), Yale University Press, New Haven (Connecticut, USA), London, 1989 •

**Bubnov (Nicolas)**, *Gerberti opera mathematica*, Berlin, 1899, réimpression Hildesheim (Olms Verlag), 1963, p. 29-31; cf. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 139, col. 85-169, *Gerberti post Silvestri Papae II operum pars prima. De disciplinis mathematicis*: (1) *Libellus de numerorum divisione*, *Praefatio: Constantino suo Gerbertus scolasticus S.*, XVI chapters [col. 85-92], (2) *Prologus in geometriam Gerberti* [col. 91-94], (3) *Incipit geometris Gerberti*, XCIV chapters (ch. II et III: 12 divisions of the As), [col. 93-154], (4) *Gerberti epistola ad Constantinum monachum Floriacensem*: "De sphaerae constructione", [col. 155-156], (5) *Gerberti de rationali et ratione uti: Versus* [col. 157-158], *De rationali et ratione uti* [col. 159-168] •

**CODICES BOETHIANI I: a Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius I. Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland**, M. T. Gibson, L. Smith, J. Ziegler (eds.), (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, XXV), London, (Warburg Institute | University of London), 1995, XV-288 pages, Plates, cf. p. 42; <http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/publications/surveys-and-texts/> •

**CODICES BOETHIANI II: a Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius II, Austria, Belgium, Danmark, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland**, Lesley Smith, T. Christchev, R. Gameson, A. Holdenried, F. Robb, T. Webber, J. Ziegler (eds.), (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, XXVII), London-Torino (Warburg Institute | University of London | Nino Aragno Editore), 2001, ISBN: 0 85481 121 4 •

**CODICES BOETHIANI III: a Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius III, Italy and the Vatican City** Lesley Smith, V. Longo, S. Magrini, M. Passalacqua (eds.), (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, XXVIII), London-Torino (Warburg Institute | University of London | Nino Aragno Editore), 2001, XXI-619 pages, ISBN: 0 85481 123 0 •

**CODICES BOETHIANI IV: a Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius IV, Portugal and Spain**, Lesley Smith (ed.), (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, XXIX), London, (Warburg Institute | University of London), 2010, ISBN: 978 0 85481 150 2 •

**Delouvé (Fabien)**, “De l’influence de Boèce au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance”, in *Colloquia Aquitana I – 2005 Études médiévales : Patrimoine matériel et immatériel*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Actes des *Colloquia Aquitana I* du 4 au 6 août 2005, Duras (France – 47120), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit Université), 2006, Chapter 2, p. 47-78, (Notes: p. 69-74; Bibliography: p. 75-78), ISBN: 2-7481-6882-8 •

**Delouvé (Fabien)**, “Le Néoplatonisme et la Musique à la Renaissance : L’influence des traductions et commentaires de Platon par Marsile Ficin (1433-1499), sur les traités de Franchinus Gaffurius (1451-1522) et Pontus de Tyard (1521-1605)”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce ([Boethius]: Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524): l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Actes des *Colloquia Aquitana II* du 3 au 5 août 2006, Duras (France – 47120), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume 2, Chapter 8, p. 9-104 (Bibliography: p. 67-78; notes: p. 79-104) •

**Delouvé (Fabien)**, “Sur l’évolution des termes de “ton” de “trope” et de “mode” de Boèce (c. 480-524) à Salomon de Caus (c. 1576-1626)”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce ([Boethius] : Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524): l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Actes des *Colloquia Aquitana II* du 3 au 5 août 2006, Duras (France – 47120), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume 2, Chapter 10, p. 171-232 (Bibliography: p. 201-218; notes: p. 218-232) •

**Folkerts (Menso)**, “The importance of the Pseudo-Boethian Geometria during the Middle Ages”, in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts. A collection of Essays*, (Utah Studies in Literature and Linguistics, 18), ed. M. Masi, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Las Vegas, 1981, p. 187-209.

**Fontaine (Jacques)**, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l’Espagne wisigothique*, Paris, 1959 • 2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 1983, 3 Vol., cf. Vol. I, p. 341-450, Plates 1-3, Vol. II, p. 453-589, Vol. III, p. 1077-1116 •

**Friedlein (Godofredus)**, ed., *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii, De institutione arithmetica libri duo, De institutione musica libri quinque, accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii*, Lipsiae (Leipzig), (Teubner Verlag), 1867, reprint Frankfurt am Main, (Minerva), 1966. *De institutione arithmetica* = p. 3-173; *De institutione musica* = p. 177-371; *Boetii quae fertur Geometria* = p. 373-428; cf. Migne, P. L., t. 63, *Boetii De [institutione] arithmetica libri duo*: col. 1079-1168; *Boetii De [institutione] musica libri quinque*, col. 1167-1300; *Euclidis Megarensis Geometriae libri duo ab An. Manl. Severino Boetio translati* [i.e. Pseudo-Boethius], col. 1307-1364 •

**Galonnier (Alain)**, (ed.), *Boèce ou la chaîne des savoirs. Actes du Colloque international Singer-Polignac*, Louvain, Paris (Peeters), *Philosophes médiévaux* 44, 2003, 36 études, XVIII – 789 pages, Index des auteurs cités, ISBN : 90-429-1250-2 (Peeters Leuven | Peeters Paris) •

**Gibson (Margaret T.)**, ed., *Boethius His Life, Thought and Influence*, Oxford (Basil Blackwell), 1981 (collective work of 18 Studies covering the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century), 427 pages, manuscript Index, general Index •

**Hadot (Ilsetraut)**, *Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique*, Paris (CNRS), 1984, p. 101-155, p. 263-293, here, Ilsetraut Hadot explains with clarity ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, and the *artes liberales* •

**Hidrio (Guylène):** “Philosophie et Sagesse divine dans les premières enluminures du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce (X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): une lecture chrétienne du traité de Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce* ([*Boethius*]: Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, 524): *l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son oeuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Vol. I, Chapter 2, p. 203-278; notes: p. 261-278 •

**Huglo (Michel),** “La réception de Calcidius et des *Commentarii* de Macrobie à l’époque carolingienne”, in *Scriptorium*, t. XLIV, 1990, 1, p. 3-20, voir p. 4-10 •

**Huglo (Michel),** “D’Helisachar à Abbon de Fleury”, *Revue bénédictine*, 104: 1-2, 1994, p. 204-229, see p. 220-225: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 53, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c., f. 30; Berlin, S. P. K. 138 (Phillips 1833) (10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 5; Bern, Bürgerbibliothek 250, 10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1v<sup>o</sup> •

**Huglo (Michel),** “Les arts libéraux dans le ‘*Liber Glossarum*’”, in *Scriptorium*, tome LV, 2001, 1, p. 3-33, 4 Plates, see p. 11, n. 25 et 26 •

**Humphrey (Illo),** “Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*: Étude *proto-philologique*, dans 5 manuscrits du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latins 14 064, 7183, 13009, n.a.l. 1614, latin 6639”. Étude historique | Étude *proto-philologique* et édition critique *princeps* des gloses | Étude de paléographie *proto-philologique*: signes de renvoi | glossaire critique de sténographie latine (158 entrées) | catalogue des manuscrits | Notes | 7 planches hors-texte, in *Carmina Philosophiae* (Journal of the International Boethius Society, USA), n° 14, 2005, p. 57 – 158, ISSN: # 1075-4407. **Nota bene:** In this fundamental *proto-philological* critical study on the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, Illo shows clearly, see pages 59, 92, 104-110, that it was Boethius himself who was the first to annotate, comment, and gloss his own treatise *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, having identified himself several times in the primitive glosses transmitted in Latin stenography (*tironian notes*), and in uncial script, conserved in the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064(f. 2:13-18, f. 37:10-12), copied, so it seems, in the monastery of Corbie at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century •

**Humphrey (Illo),** “Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*: auctor, opus, interpres”, Review Essay, Meyer (Christian) (ed.), *Boèce, Traité de la Musique* (Introduction, traduction, notes), Turnhout, (Brepols), 2004, in *Carmina Philosophiae* (Journal of the International Boethius Society, USA), n° 14, 2005, p. 167 – 175, ISSN: # 1075-4407 •



**Humphrey (Illo)**, *Boethius De institutione arithmetica libri duo. Édition proto-philologique intégrale princeps d'un manuscrit du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 14064), *Texte, gloses, notes tironiennes, signes de renvoi*. ©Institute of Medieval Music, Musicological Studies Volume LXXXVI, ISBN: 978-1-896926-90-2, Ottawa, Canada, 2007 • **Nota bene (1)**: This work contains the following: Prologue (English), Introduction (French), Manuscript Catalogue (French), Proto-philological integral *princeps* critical edition: text, glosses, cross-reference signs of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, conserved in the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, 9<sup>th</sup> century (Latin), Critical Glossary of Latin Stenography (*notae tironianae*): 1106 entries, Critical Glossary of Cross-reference Signs (*notae sententiarum*): 52 entries, 7 Plates, Latin Index, Greek Index, Manuscript Index • **Nota bene (2)**: In this fundamental complete proto-philological *princeps* critical edition (text, glosses, cross-reference signs) of the Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, Illo, once again, shows clearly, see page 26: 13-18, and page 98: 10-12, that it was Boethius himself who was the first to annotate, comment, and gloss his own treatise, having identified himself several times in glosses transmitted in Latin stenography (*tironian notes*), and in uncial script, conserved in the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064 (f. 2:13-18, f. 37:10-12), copied, so it seems, in the monastery of Corbie at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century •

**Humphrey (Illo)** (ed.), *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce ([Boethius]: Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524): l'homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Actes des *Colloquia Aquitana II* du 3 au 5 août 2006, Duras (France – 47120), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2 volumes, Index-Glossary, 2009, Vol. I 535 p. (ISBN: 978-2-304-00564-6), Vol. II 520 p. (ISBN: 978-2-304-00566-0); 15 Contributeurs: Laurent Lemaître d'Artus, Clarence Barlow, Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, Fabien Delouvé, Philippe Duquénois, Guylène Hidrio, Min-Jun Huh, Illo Humphrey, Jean-Pierre Nicolini, Philip E. Phillips, Iégor Reznikoff, Ileana Tozzi, Ghislaine Vandensteendam, Édith Weber •

**Humphrey (Illo)**, “La philosophie de l'image dans la pratique iconographique carolingienne (quelques observations sur la pratique iconographique en *Neustrie* au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: l'exemple du *scriptorium* de Saint-Martin de Tours entre 830 et 851)”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce ([Boethius]: Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524): l'homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Actes des *Colloquia Aquitana II* du 3 au 5 août 2006, Duras (France – 47120), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume 1, Chapter 3, p. 279-313 (Bibliography: p. 297-298; notes: p. 303-313) •

**Humphrey (Illo)**, “Le Régime de l’Octave: ses applications chez Platon, chez Nikómachos o Gerasinós et chez Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce* ([Boethius]: Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524): *l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Actes des *Colloquia Aquitana II* du 3 au 5 août 2006, Duras (France – 47120), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume 2, Chapter 11, p. 233-260; notes: 256-260 •

**Humphrey (Illo)**, “Les 12 divisions de l’as: leur emploi chez Calcidius et chez Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce* ([Boethius]: Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, ca. 524): *l’homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son œuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Actes des *Colloquia Aquitana II* du 3 au 5 août 2006, Duras (France – 47120), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Vol. 2, Ch. 12, p. 261-274; notes: p. 268-274 •

**Lafleur (Claude)**, “ ‘Les guides de l’étudiant’ de la Faculté des Arts de l’Université de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in *Philosophy and Learning. Universities in the Middle Ages*, M. Hoenen, J. Schneider, G. Wieland, Leiden (Brill), 1995, p. 137-200 •

**Marenbon (John)**, *Boethius*, Great Medieval Thinkers, New York (Oxford University Press), 2003, 252 pages •

**Masi (Michael)**, *Boethius and the Liberal Arts. A collection of Essays*, (Utah Studies in Literature and Linguistics, vol. 18), Bern • Frankfurt am Main • Las Vegas, 1981 •

**Mostert (Marco)**, *The Library of Fleury. A provisional list of Manuscripts*, Hilversum, 1989, p. 46, 47, 68 •

**Munk-Olsen (Birger)**, *L’étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Tome I: *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. (Apicius Marcus Gavius – Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis)*, Paris (Éditions du CNRS), 1982, p. 95-98; Tome II: *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. (Titus Luvius Patavinus – Marcus Vitruvius Pollio), Florilèges, Essais de plume*, (Éditions du CNRS), 1985, p. 827-835: [http://bibliotheque.irht.cnrs.fr/opac/index.php?lvl=author\\_see&id=190](http://bibliotheque.irht.cnrs.fr/opac/index.php?lvl=author_see&id=190) •

**Ooge (Martin Luther d’)** [1839-1915], *Nicomachus of Gerasa. Introduction to Arithmetic*, (English translation), with a study on the Greek philosophy of numbers by: F. E. Robbins et L. C. Karpinski, New

York et Londres, 1926, Ann Arbor (University of Michigan Press), 1938, New York 1972, p. 88-110, 111-123, 132-137 •

**Papahagi (Adrian)**, *Boethiana mediaevalia. A Collection of Studies on the Early Medieval Fortune of Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy*, Bucharest (Zeta Books: <http://www.zetabooks.com/new-releases/adrian-papahagi-boethiana-mediaevalia.html>), November, 2010, 230 pages, ISBN: 978-973-1997-79-7 (paperback), ISBN: 978-973-1997-90-3 (ebook) •

**Patch (Howard R.)**, *The Tradition of Boethius. A Study of his Importance in Medieval Culture*, Oxford, New York (OUP), 1935, 1970 •

**Peiper (Rudolf)** (ed.), *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis libri quinque* (p. 1-146), *accedunt eiusdem atque incertorum Opuscula sacra* (p. 149-163), Leipzig (Teubner Verlag), 1871, p. XXX-XXXVIII: "Boetius autem honorifice tumultus est papie in cripta ecclesie", p. XXXV; Migne, *P. L.*, t. 63, *Boetii De consolatione Philosophiae libri quinque*, col. 547-1074. Cf. *Boethii Vita VI*, from the manuscript of the 13<sup>th</sup> century conserved in Wrocław [Breslau], Pologne, Bibliotheca Rehdigeriana, S IV 3 a. 48, 13<sup>th</sup> c., f. 32v° •

**Phillips (Philip Edward) and Kaylor, Jr. (Noel Harold)** (eds.), *Carmina Philosophiae*, Journal of the International Boethius Society, Vol. 1: 1992, Vol. 2: 1993, Vol. 3: 1994, Volume 4: 1995, Volume 5-6: 1996-1997, Vol. 7: 1998, Vol. 8-9 : 1999-2000, Vol. 10: 2001, Vol. 11: 2002, Vol. 12: 2003, Vol. 13: 2004, Vol. 14: 2005, Vol. 15: 2006, Vol. 16: 2007, ISSN : # 1075-4407 •

**Phillips (Philip Edward)**, "Boèce, le Quadrivium, et la Consolation de la Philosophie", in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce ([Boethius], Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, 524): l'homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son oeuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, Chapter 1, p. 183-201 (Bibliography: p. 197-198; notes: p.198-201) •

**Phillips (Philip Edward) and Kaylor, Jr. (Noel Harold)** (eds.), *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, Introduction: Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., Philip Edward Phillips • Part I: Boethius's Latin *De Consolatione Philosophiae*: William J. Asbell, Jr., Christine Herold, Krista Sue-Lo Twu • Part II: Vernacular Translation of the Consolatio: J. Keith Atkinson, Glynnis M. Cropp, Francesca Ziino • Part III: Boethius in Art and Literary History: Ann W.

Astell, Christoph Houswitschka, Michael Masi • Part IV: Boethius in Religion and Mythography: Romanus Cessario, Graham N. Drake • Part V: Reedition of The Boke of Coumfort of Bois: Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., Jason Edward Streed, and William H. Watts, SMC XLV, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan (USA), 2007, xviii + 294 pages, ISBN 978-1-58044-100-1; ISBN 978-1-58044-101-8 •

**Phillips (Philip Edward) and KAYLOR, Jr. (Noel Harold)** (eds.), *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*, Contributors: Harold Kaylor, Stephen McClusky, Rosalind Love, Jean-Yves Guillaumin, Siobhan Nash-Marshall, John Casey, Paul Szarmach, Christine Hehle, Glynnis Cropp, Dario Brancato, Ian Johnson, Mark Rimple, Ann Moyer, Fabio Troncarelli, Philip Phillips, Leiden, Boston (Brill), 2012: <http://www.brill.nl/companion-boethius-middle-ages> •

**RISM** (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*), BIII(1) : *The Theory of Music from the Carolingian Era up to 1400*, vol. I : Autriche, Belgique, Suisse, Danemark, France, Luxembourg, Pays-Bays, ed. **J. Smits van Waesberghe** (eds.), with the collaboration of Peter Fischer and Christian Maas, München-Duisburg (Henle Verlag), 1961 •

**RISM** (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*), BIII(2), *The Theory of Music from the Carolingian Era up to 1400*, vol. II: Italy, Peter Fischer (ed.), München-Duisburg (Henle Verlag), 1968 •

**RISM** (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*), BIII(3), *The Theory of Music*, vol. III, *Manuscripts from the Carolingian era up to 1500 in the Federal Republic of Germany* (D-brd), Michel Huglo and Christain Meyer (eds.), München (Henle Verlag), 1986 •

**RISM** (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*), BIV(4), *The Theory of Music*, vol. IV, *Manuscripts from the carolingien era up to c. 1500 in Great Britain and in the United States of America, descriptive catalogue*, Part I (p. 3-133): Great Britain, ed. Christian Meyer, Part II (p. 137-202): United States of America, Michel Huglo and Nancy Phillips (eds.), München • Saint-Louis (Henle Verlag), 1993 •

**RISM [Greek]** (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*), B-XI : *Ancient Greek Music Theory, a Catalogue raisonné of Manuscripts*, Thomas J. Mathiesen (ed.), München (Henle Verlag), 1988, p. XLIII-LXIV, p. 9, 156-285, 398, 581, 709-720 •

**Sierra (Sergio Joseph)** (ed.), *Sefer Di Konsolasioni Filosofya / Boezio De Consolatione Philosophiae; Traduzione Ebraica de 'Azaria Ben R. Joseph Ibn Abba Mari detto Bonafoux Bonfil Astruc 5163-1423. Jérusalem (Istituto de Studi Ebraici Scuola Rabbinnica "S. H. Margulies-Disegni")*, Torino, 1967, XV-XVII, in-8, XXX, 162 pages •

**Tozzi (Ileana)**, "L'eredità varroniana raccolta da Severino Boezio per il riordino delle *Disciplinae liberales*", in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce ([Boethius], Rome, ca. 480 – Pavie, 524): l'homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son oeuvre et son rayonnement*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, Chapter 5, p. 337-362 (Bibliography: p. 356-358; notes: p. 358-362) •

**Troncarelli (Fabio)**, *Cogitatio Mentis. L'eredità di Boezio nell'Alto Medioevo*, Napoli, D'Auria (*Storie e testi*, 16), 2005 •

**Van De Vyver (André)**, "Les œuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury", *Revue bénédictine* (t. 47), 1935, p. 125-169 •

**Weijers (Olga)**, *La 'disputatio' dans les Facultés des arts au Moyen Âge*, Turnhout (Brepols), 2002, 383 p., ISBN 2-503-51356-5 •

**Weijers (Olga)** (ed.), *La 'disputatio' à la Faculté des arts de Paris (1200-1350 environ)*, Turnhout (Brepols), 1995 •

**Weijers (Olga)**, "De la joute dialectique à la dispute scolastique", in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1999*, Paris, 2000, p. 508-518 •

**Weijers (Olga)**, "Quelques observations sur les divers emplois du terme disputatio", in *Itinéraires de la raison*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2005, p. 35-48 •

**Weijers (Olga)**, "Les règles d'examen dans les universités médiévales", in *Philosophy and Learning. Universities in the Middle Ages*, M. Hoenen, J. Schneider, G. Wieland, Leiden (Brill), 1995, p. 201-223 •

**Weijers (Olga)**, *Queritur utrum. Recherches sur la 'disputatio' dans les universités médiévales*, Turnhout (Brepols), 2009 (Studia Artistarum, 20), 308 pages: ISBN 978-2-503-53195-3 •

## BIBLIOGRAPHY III – BOETHIUS (DATABASES &amp; META-DATABASES):

- <http://www.mtsu.edu/english/Journals/boethius/bibliography/index.shtml> •
- <http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius/BoethiusBibliography.html> •
- <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/boethius/#3> •
- <http://www.arlima.net/ad/boece.html> •
- <http://beowulf.engl.uky.edu/~kiernan/eBoethius/pubs.htm> •
- <http://antology.rchgi.spb.ru/Boethius/biblio.rus.html> •
- [http://individual.utoronto.ca/pking/resources/boethius/De\\_Trinitate.txt](http://individual.utoronto.ca/pking/resources/boethius/De_Trinitate.txt) •
- [http://www.ftsr.ulaval.ca/pdf/pub\\_bibp\\_ms\\_5\\_contenus.pdf](http://www.ftsr.ulaval.ca/pdf/pub_bibp_ms_5_contenus.pdf) •
- <http://homepage.uibk.ac.at/~c30310/Altdeutsch/Handschriftenkatalog.pdf> :  
Universität Innsbruck Österreich (Austria), Althochdeutsch  
Handschriftenkatalog, 802 pages, see pages 631-637, Sankt Gallen  
Stiftsbibliothek: 817 | 818 | 820 | 825 | 830 | 831 | 844 | 845;  
[http://www.bbkl.de/b/boethius\\_a\\_m\\_t.shtml](http://www.bbkl.de/b/boethius_a_m_t.shtml) •

## Hroswitha (†ca. 973-1002) | Hildegard (†1179) | Herrade (†1195):

Three of the most learned women of mediæval Europe, during the period which interests this study, were: (a) **Hroswitha von Gandersheim** (\*935-†ca. 973-1002 [?]), German Benedictine canoness, poet, dramatist, historian of the Ottonian Renaissance, (b) **Hildegard von Bingen** (\*1098-†1179), German Benedictine Abbess, founder of the Rupertsberg Cloister 1147-1179, Bingen am Rhein, (c) **Herrade de Landsberg** (\*1125-†1195), the French Benedictine Abbess of Hohenburg [Mont Sainte-Odile], France. All three were erudite scholars, prolific writers, astute theologians and philosophers, all three well-versed in the research and teachings of Boethius, in the European scientific-philosophical *Tradition of Knowledge*, all three were well-versed in the sevenfold canon of the *Liberal Arts*.

This section of the bibliography highlights in particular the unique manuscript *Hortus Deliciarum* (*Jardin de délices* | *Garden of Delights*), written by Herrade de Landsberg, French Abbess of the Benedictine Abbey of Hohenburg [Sainte-Odile], France. The original manuscript of the *Hortus Deliciarum* was destroyed by fire in Strasburg during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870; cf. Edith Weber, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, 2009, Vol. I, Préface, p. 16, 17, Préliminaire VII, p. 116-118 (2-2f). A copy of the original manuscript is conserved in Strasbourg, France-67000 at the Bibliothèque Alsatique of the Bank Crédit Mutuel. The original drawings of this manuscript were done in pencil, from which 12 colour reproductions, that is to say 12 Plates, were made in 1818 by the artist Christian Maurice [Moritz] Engelhardt. Plate 8 of the *Hortus Deliciarum* depicts the cycle of the Sevenfold Canon of the *Liberal Arts*: *Quadrivium* [or *Quadrivium*]: ars arithmetica | ars musica | ars

geometrica | ars astronomica, and *Trivium*: ars grammatica | ars dialectica or logica | ars rhetorica, represented by seven learned Women, separated by seven columns, arranged in a circle with Lady Philosophy [that is to say Divine Wisdom], Socrates and Plato in the center. **Nota bene:** This very emblematic representation of the sevenfold canon of the *Liberal Arts* can be traced back directly to the *De grammatica* [or *Disputatio de vera philosophia*] of Alcuin of York (†804), which in turn can be traced back to the biblical treatise of Solomon on wisdom, that is to say Proverbs IX,1: “*Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum excidit columnas septem*”; cf. Guylène Hidrio, “Philosophie et Sagesse divine dans les premières enluminures du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce (X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): une lecture chrétienne du traité de Boèce”, in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, 2009, Vol. I, Chapter 2, p. 231-238 (Notes: p. 261-278) •

**Hroswitha von Gandersheim** (\*935-†ca. 973-1002 [?]), German Benedictine canoness, poet, dramatist, historian of the Ottonian Renaissance, of Gandersheim, Germany; cf. Lina Eckenstein (†1931), *Woman under monasticism: chapters on saint-lore and convent life between a. D. 500 and a. D. 1500*, Cambridge University Press, 1896, xv, 496 pages, see Chapter V, *Convents in Saxon Lands between a. D. 800-1000*, subsection nr. 1: *Women’s convent in Saxony*, p. 143, subsection nr. 2: *Early History of Gandersheim*, p. 154, subsection nr. 3: *The Nun Hrotsvith and her Writings*, p. 160-183; cf. full text at the web site of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Digital Collections: TEI Edition, March 3, 2003: <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=HTML&rgn=DIV2&byte=51845577>; Paul K. R. von Winterfeld (critical edition), *Hrotsvithae opera. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, Berlin (Wiedmann), 1902, Prooemium p. III, IV, V; <http://www.rarebookroom.org/Control/hvaopa/index.html>; K. Strecker, (ed.). *Hrotsvithae opera*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Leipzig (Teubner), 1930; H. Hohmeyer (ed.), *Hrotsvithae Opera*, Munich, Paderborn, Wien (Schöningh), A. L. Haight, *Hroswitha of Gandersheim her life, times, and works, and a comprehensive bibliography*, New York (Hroswitha Club), 1965; 1970; Bert Nagel, *Hrotsvit von Gandersheim: Sämtliche Dichtungen*, München (Winkler), 1966; H. Hohmeyer (ed.), *Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim. Werke in deutscher Übertragung*, Munich, 1973; K. M. Wilson, “The Saxon Canoness Hrotsvit of Gandersheim”, in *Medieval Women Writers*, K. M. Wilson (ed.), Athens, Georgia, 1984, p. 31-62; L. Moulinier, “H comme Histoire: Hrotsvita, Hildegarde et Herrade, trois récits de fondation au féminin”, in *Clio*, numéro 2, 1995, *Femmes et Religions*, cf. <http://clio.revues.org/index489.html>; M. Goullet, (ed.), *Hrotsvita. Théâtre*, texte établi, traduit et commenté, Paris (*Les Belles Lettres*), 1999. In-8°, CXXXVIII-301 pages; M. Goullet, (ed.), *Hrotsvita de Gandersheim. Oeuvres poétiques X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, présentation et traduction, suivies du texte latin. Grenoble (Éd. Million), 2000, In-8°, 349 pages; Walter Berschin, (ed.). *Hrosvit: Opera Omnia*, Munich (Saur), 2001; P. Ranft, *Women in Western intellectual Culture, 600-1500*, New York (MacMillan), 2002, p. 26-34; P. R. Brown, K. M. Wilson,

L. A. McMillin (eds.), *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, Contexts, Identities, Affinities, and Performances*, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2004; U. Wiethaus, "Body and Empire in the Works of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim", in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Volume 34, Number 1, Winter 2004, p. 41-63; S. L. Wailes, *Spirituality and politics in the Hrotsvit of Gandersheim*, Cranbury, NJ, 2006, Bibliography: p. 11-14, Chapter 13: *Thais*, p. 181-189, Chapter 15: *Deeds of Otto* (*Gesta Ottonis*), p. 205-216; [http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/hroswitha\\_v\\_g.shtml](http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/hroswitha_v_g.shtml)) •

**Hildegard von Bingen** (\*1098-†1179), "Sybil of the Rhine", German Benedictine Abbess, Founder of the Rupertsberg Cloister 1147-1179, Bingen am Rhein, Germany 55411; cf. Lina Eckenstein (†1931), *Woman under monasticism: chapters on saint-lore and convent life between a. D. 500 and a. D. 1500*, Cambridge University Press, 1896, xv, 496 pages, see Chapter VIII, p. 256, *Prophecy and Philanthropy: Saint Hildegard of Bingen and Saint Elizabeth of Schönau*; cf. University of Wisconsin-Madison Digital Collections: TEI Edition, March 3, 2003: <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=header&id=History.EckenWoman>; Ch. VIII, *Prophecy and Philanthropy: Saint Hildegard of Bingen and Saint Elizabeth of Schönau*: <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=HTML&rgn=DIV2&byte=51888928>; *Hildegardis Bingensis, Opera minora*, H. Feiss, C. Evans, B. M. Kienzle, C. Muessig, B. Newman, P. Dronke, (eds.), in *CCCM* 226, Turnhout, 2007; B. Newman, *Symphonia armoniae celestium revelationum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Ithaca, NY, 1998; L. Moulinier, "H comme Histoire: Hrotsvita, Hildegard et Herrade, trois récits de fondation au féminin", in *Clio* 2, 1995, *Femmes et Religions*, cf. <http://clio.revues.org/index489.html>; M. McGrade, "Hildegard von Bingen", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Vol. 2, Vol. 8, L. Fischer (ed.), Kassel | Stuttgart, 1994; *Scivias* [*Scito vias Domini*], C. Hart, J. Bishop, New York, 1990; Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 197; cf. *Scivias Kodex* Facsimile on parchment, produced in Germany at the Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Hildegard, between 1927-1933 (the original manuscript, the *Wiesbaden Kodex*, was lost, or destroyed, in Dresden, so it seems, during World War II): <http://www.abtei-st-hildegard.de/hildegard/miniaturen/miniaturen.php>; <http://www.lessing-photo.com/search.asp?a=1&kc=2020202067B9&kw=HILDEGARD+V%2EBINGEN%2CCODEX&p=1&cipp=6>; [http://www.arlima.net/eh/hildegard\\_von\\_bingen.html#sci](http://www.arlima.net/eh/hildegard_von_bingen.html#sci); *Hildegard von Bingen, Scivias*, Adelgundis Führkötter, Angela Carlevaris (eds.), Turnhout (Brepols), *CCCM*, 43-43A, 1978; [http://www.arlima.net/eh/hildegard\\_von\\_bingen.html#sci](http://www.arlima.net/eh/hildegard_von_bingen.html#sci); F. W. Bautz, *BBKL*, B. II, Spalten 846-851: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/h/hildegard\\_v\\_b.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/h/hildegard_v_b.shtml)) •

**Herrade de Landsberg** (\*1125-†1195), French Benedictine Abbess of Hohenburg [Mont Sainte-Odile], France; cf. Lina Eckenstein (†1931), *Woman under monasticism: chapters on saint-lore and convent life between a. D. 500 and a. D. 1500*, Cambridge University Press, 1896, xv, 496 pages, see Chapter VII, p. 222,



subsection nr. 1: Art Industries in the Nunnery, p. 238, subsection nr. 2: Herrad and the 'Garden of Delights'; cf. full text at the web site of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Digital Collections: TEI Edition, March 3, 2003; Chapter VII (subsection 2) Herrad and the 'Garden of Dilights'; R. Green, M. Evans, C. Bischoff, C. Curshmann, *Herrad of Hohenburg, Hortus deliciarum. Reconstruction and Commentary*, London, Leiden, 1979; T. J. Brown, K. Levy (eds.), *Hortus Deliciarum*, Vol. 1, par Herrad (of Landsberg, Abbess of Hohenburg), London, (Warburg Institute) | Leiden (Brill), 1979, cf. Ch. 1: Description of the Manuscript and the Reconstruction, p. 1-8; L. Moulinier, "H comme Histoire: Hrotsvita, Hildegard et Herrade, trois récits de fondation au féminin", in *Clio*, numéro 2, 1995, *Femmes et Religions*, cf. <http://clio.revues.org/index489.html>; Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and renaissance for women in the twelfth century*, (*The Middle Ages series*). Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Press), 2007, 381 pages, 18 pages of Plates: Illustrations; Guylène Hidrio, "Philosophie et Sagesse divine dans les premières enluminures du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce (X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): une lecture chrétienne du traité de Boèce", in *Colloquia Aquitana II – 2006 Boèce...*, Illo Humphrey (ed.), Paris (Éditions Le Manuscrit), 2009, Volume I, p. 234 (note 63) •

### *Hortus Deliciarum* (Databases | Meta-Databases):

- <http://www.bacm.creditmutuel.fr/fr/hortus.html> •
- <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=header&id=History.EckenWoman> •
- <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=HTML&rgn=DIV2&byte=51881217> •
- [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herrad\\_of\\_Landsberg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herrad_of_Landsberg) •
- [http://en.wikipedia.org:80/wiki/Hortus\\_deliciarum](http://en.wikipedia.org:80/wiki/Hortus_deliciarum) •
- <http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/anderson/gaa/hortus.html> •
- [http://www.bacm.creditmutuel.fr/HORTUS\\_DELICIARUMbas.html](http://www.bacm.creditmutuel.fr/HORTUS_DELICIARUMbas.html) •
- [http://www.bacm.creditmutuel.fr/HORTUS\\_PLANCHE\\_8.html](http://www.bacm.creditmutuel.fr/HORTUS_PLANCHE_8.html) •
- <http://www.deliciarum.info/02/11/2008/le-hortus-deliciarum-le-manuscrit-maudit-le-jardin-des-delices/> •
- [http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/bec\\_0373-6237\\_1840\\_num\\_1\\_1\\_444248](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/bec_0373-6237_1840_num_1_1_444248) •
- [http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/bec\\_0373-6237\\_1931\\_num\\_92\\_1\\_448936](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/bec_0373-6237_1931_num_92_1_448936) •
- <http://home.infionline.net/~ddisse/herrad.html> •
- <http://www.ottodoenneweg.de/files/334548569754a5b6f10b4ce5459d6b48-16.html> •

Cf. [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=754](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=754)

- Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR | Mediaevalist | Musicologist | Proto-Philologist | 2016 •
- **Nota bene:** See, *infra*, SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY | page 238 •



---

## INDEX

---

## INDEX

## INDEX – CATALOGUE OF 128 MANUSCRIPTS:

- Alençon** [France-61000], Médiathèque de la Communauté urbaine, 10, f. 94r<sup>o</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *in.*, anonymus poem dedicated to Boethius: *Ad mensam philosophiae sitientes currite...*, origin: Saint-Évroult-Notre-Dame-du-Bois en Pays d'Ouche [?]: p. 192-193, n. 277 •
- Alençon**, Médiathèque de la Communauté urbaine, 12.II, 10<sup>th</sup> c., Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, glosses: 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c., by Robert de Prumelai of Saint-Évroult-Notre-Dame-du-Bois en Pays d'Ouche, origin: West-France [?]: p. 146, note 200 •
- Bamberg** [Germany-96049], Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Class. 5, *ca.* 844, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, (Illuminations, origin: Saint-Martin de Tours): n. 74, 88 •
- Bamberg**, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Class. 9, 10<sup>th</sup> c., *Musica Enchiridis*: f. 1-14v<sup>o</sup>, *Scolica Enchiridis*: f. 15v-48v<sup>o</sup>: note 162 •
- Bamberg**, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Patr. 46 (Q.VI.32), f. 1-21v<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Boethii *Opuscula sacra*, (Homelies by Heiric of Auxerre in Latin Stenography | *notae sententiarum* | Glosses by Iohannes Scottus Eriugena [?]: Hand “i<sup>2</sup>”, origin: Reims [?]): n. 104, 191 •
- Bamberg**, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Ph. 2 / 1 (HJ.IV.5), 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>2</sup>”: note 104 •
- Bamberg**, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Ph. 2 / 2 (HJ.IV.6), 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>2</sup>”: note 104 •
- Barcelona** [Spain-08071], Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 42, 11<sup>th</sup> c., quondam [earlier] Rivipullensis, f. 59-64 (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: R): note 177 •
- Berlin** [Germany-10785], Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, lat. *in-folio* 817, f. 59-77, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Glosa Boethii De trinitate*, Provenance: Celestines of Paris (cf. Alfred Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, vol. 2, p. 89-100): p. 183 •
- Bern** [Switzerland | CH-3003], Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, 179, 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1-63v<sup>o</sup>, Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, glosses, 10<sup>th</sup> c., origin: West-France: n. 200 •
- Bern**, Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, 510, end of 9<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1-17v<sup>o</sup>, Boethii *Opuscula sacra* II-III, beginning of IV, glosses long version: note 201 •
- Bern**, Bibliothèque Bongarsiana, A 517, f. 1-22v<sup>o</sup>, Boethii *Opuscula sacra* IV, and end of V, glosses in part in Latin stenography, beginning of IV, glosses short version, origin: Auxerre [?] *via* Fleury [?] or Micy [?]: note 201 •
- Bern**, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. A 91 21, 11<sup>th</sup> c., Guido Aretini *Micrologus*: f. 1r<sup>o</sup>-5v<sup>o</sup>, *Regulae*: f. 6r<sup>o</sup>-v<sup>o</sup>: note 165 •
- Bruxelles [Brussels]**, [Belgium-1000], Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, 1820/30 (*olim* 350), 11<sup>th</sup> c., *in.*, *Catalogue of Anchin*: f. 108-109: n. 157 •
- Bruxelles**, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, 9119, 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 147-152, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *Vita sanctae Rictrudis*: note 155 •
- Bruxelles**, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, 9119, 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 152, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De sancto Ionate*: note 155 •
- Bruxelles**, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, 10078-95, 12<sup>th</sup> c., quondam. S. Y-XVI. 1, 15<sup>th</sup> c., a M. Gerberto collatus, ex Italia, f. 167v<sup>o</sup>-177v<sup>o</sup> (Manuscript Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: B): note 177 •

- Bruxelles**, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, Codex latin 10127-44, (Gradual, origin: Mont-Blandin, East Flanders B-9000 Ghent, *siglum*: B): note 134 •
- Cambrai** [France-59300], Bibliothèque municipale 339, f. 74v°-81v°, 13<sup>th</sup> c., (*Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, *siglum*: C): p. 183 •
- Cambrai**, Bibliothèque municipale 840, 15<sup>th</sup> c., f. 38-47, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *Passio sancti Cassiani*: note 155 •
- Cambridge** [England | UK-CB3 9DR], University Library, Gg. V. 35, 11<sup>th</sup> c., quondam abbatae sancti Augustini Cantuariæ, f. 263-272v° (Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *sigla*: A<sup>1</sup> / A<sup>2</sup>: note 177 •
- Cesena** [Italy-47023], Biblioteca Malatestiana, Plut-Laurenziana, Pluteus [Pulpit, Book-rest] XXIX.48, 15<sup>th</sup> c., ex Italia. f. 52 55v°-56 (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: C): note 177 •
- Chicago** [USA | 60610-3380], Newberry Library, F. 9, Boethii *De musica*, 11<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Glosses from the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelianus Reomensis, f. 6r°: note 130 •
- Douai** [France-59500], Bibliothèque municipale 295, 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 58v°-64, Hucbaldi *Elevatio sancti Theoderici abbatis*: note 156 •
- Einsiedlen** [Switzerland | CH-8840], Stifsbibliothek 169, 11<sup>th</sup> c., ex Alemaniam, p. 113-128 (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: E): note 177 •
- Erlangen** [Germany-91052], Universitätsbibliothek 182, (Irmischer 229), f. 66-103v°, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum Boethii De trinitate uel Librum hunc*, (Provenance: Heilsbronn, diocese: Eichstätt, Ordo Cisterciensis, *siglum*: E): p. 183 •
- Firenze [Florence]**, [Italy-50122], Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi, F. III. 565, ex Italia, f. 76, 11<sup>th</sup> c. (Fragment, Hucbaldi *De musica*, *siglum*: F<sup>1</sup>): note 177 •
- Firenze** [Italy-50123], Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, abbatae sancti Petri Gemblacensis, f. 84v°-92 (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: F<sup>2</sup>): n. 177 •
- Firenze**, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus [Pulpit] XXIX. XX, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, f. 1r°-97v°, 9<sup>th</sup> c., (origin: [?]): Intro., p. 11, n. 5 •
- Kassel** [Germany-34001, Hessen], *Gesamthochschule*, 2<sup>o</sup> Ms. philol. 2, Glossary of Latin Stenography (Saint-Amand [?], a. D. 799): p. 17 •
- Kraków** [Poland-30-059], Biblioteka Jagiellońska 1965, 12<sup>th</sup> c., ex Italia, p. 63-76, 49-52 [sic] (Fragment Hucbaldi *De musica*, *siglum*: J): note 177 •
- Laon** [France-02200], Bibliothèque municipale 24: f. 1r°; ms. 81: f. 47, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>1</sup>”: n. 104 •
- Laon**, Bibliothèque municipale 239, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Antiphonale Missae, Gradual: n. 134 •
- Leiden** [Netherlands-2311 BG], Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 67, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>1</sup>”: note 104 •
- Leiden**, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 88, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>2</sup>”: note 104 •
- Leiden**, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 76, 100, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Amalarius Symphosius Metensis, *Opera*: note 47 •

- Leiden**, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 28, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Amalarius Symphosius Metensis: note 47 •
- Leiden**, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VGQ 30, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Amalarius Symphosius Metensis: note 47 •
- Leipzig** [Germany-04107], Universitätsbibliothek 1492, 15<sup>th</sup> c., quondam abbatae Veteris Cellae (Alt Zell) in Germania., f. 43-49v<sup>o</sup> (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: L): note 177 •
- London** [England | UK-WC1B 3DG], British Museum, Cotton Claudius B. IX., f. 1-10v<sup>o</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> c., (*Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, *siglum*: W): p. 183 •
- London**, British Museum, Royal 8. C.V., f. 43-46, 12<sup>th</sup> - 13<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Lectiones* super Boethii *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*: p. 183 •
- Monte Cassino** [Italy-03043], Biblioteca di Abbazia 318, 11<sup>th</sup> c., ex Italia, p. 116 (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: MC): n. 187 •
- Montpellier** [France-34000], Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine H. 159 (11<sup>th</sup> c.), Gradual-Tonary: *Descriptio* VIII: Nr. 6, *Descriptio* X: Nr. 5 •
- Monza** [Italy-20900], Tesoro del Duomo di Monza, Codex CIX, (Cantatorium, origin: Monza, I-20052, 9<sup>th</sup> c., 2<sup>nd</sup> third, *siglum*: M): note 134 •
- München** [**Munich**], [Germany-80539], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 2580, f. 1-65v<sup>o</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum* super Boethii *De trinitate* uel *Librum hunc*, (Provenance: Aldersbach, diocese of Passau, Ordo Cisterciensis, *siglum*: M): p. 183 •
- München**, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14485 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> c., Hrotsvitha Gandersheimensis (this unique manuscript contains the *opera omnia* of Hrotsvitha with the exception of the *Primordia Coenobii Gandersheimensis*): note 215 •
- Orléans** [France-45000], Bibliothèque municipale 270 (*olim* 226), Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, pages 1-299, 9<sup>th</sup> c., origin: Fleury-sur-Loire: note 188 •
- Orléans**, Bibliothèque municipale 270 (*olim* 226), 9<sup>th</sup> c., Boethii *Opuscula sacra*, p. 231-316, glosses short version, origin: Fleury-sur-Loire, scribe, Albinus: note 201 •
- Orléans**, Bibliothèque municipale 293 (*olim* 247), 9<sup>th</sup> c., Boethii *De institutione musica*, (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs]), origin: [Fleury-sur-Loire (?): notes 111, 190 •
- Orléans**, Bibliothèque municipale 444 (*olim* 374), 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century, f. 261-275, *Boeci(s)*: Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae* in Occitanian decasyllabic verse, origin: Fleury-sur-Loire: note 204 •
- Oxford** [England | UK-OX1 3BG], Bodleian, Auct. T. 2. 1, Iohannis Scotti Eriugena *Annotationes in Marcianum Capellam*, 9<sup>th</sup> c. (<http://www.ouls.ox.ac.uk/philosophy/collections/manuscripts>): note 101 •
- Oxford**, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 212, 15<sup>th</sup> c., quondam Bononiensis, f. 31v-39v<sup>o</sup> (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: O): note 177 •
- Oxford**, Bodleian Library, can. misc. 353 (Walafrid “Strabo”, *Computus*): n. 69 •
- Oxford**, Bodleian Library, Lyell 49, 382, f. 81-99v<sup>o</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum* Boethii *De trinitate* uel *Librum hunc*, (Provenance: Admont Ordo sancti Benedicti, Steinmark, Austria, *siglum*: A): p. 183 •

**Oxford**, Bodleian Library, Lyell 49, f. 99v<sup>o</sup>-100v<sup>o</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum super Boethii De hebdomadibus* uel *Fragmentum Admontense*, (Provenance: Admont Ordo sancti Benedicti, Steinmark, Austria, *siglum*: A): p. 183 •

**Paris** [France-75006 | Institut de France], Bibliothèque Mazarine 561: f. 67v<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>2</sup>”: n. 104

**Paris** [France-75002 | Site Richelieu], BnF, Fonds grec 1807, *in-folio*, Πλάτων [Plato: *Republic*, *Timaios*, *Laws*, *Letters*, etc.], ca. 865 (abundant glosses, 9<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> c., origin: Constantinople, *siglum*: A): p. 42, n. 1, p. 85, p. 100, n. 115 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds grec 1853, *in-folio*, Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Σταγειρίτης [Aristotle: *On the Soul*, *Metaphysics*, *Ethics for Nikomachos*, etc.], 10<sup>th</sup> c., middle, to the 15<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1r<sup>o</sup>-453v<sup>o</sup>, (abundant glosses, 10<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> c., origin : [?], *siglum* E): p. 85 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds grec 2450, 14<sup>th</sup> c., f. 1v-33v<sup>o</sup>, Κλαύδιος Πτολεμαῖος, τὰ Ἀρμονικά (Klaudios Ptolemaios, *tà Harmoniká*): p. 92, n. 106 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 1 (*in-folio*, 1<sup>st</sup> Bible of Charles the Bald), origin: Saint-Martin of Tours, ca. 844-851: note 75 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 528, f. 180v<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Medical manuscript fragments: n. 60 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 647, f. 167-73, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* (*siglum*: P): p. 183 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 1101, 13<sup>th</sup> c., f. 322r<sup>o</sup>-v<sup>o</sup>, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *Prosa de sancto Cyrico*, Missal of Saint-Amand: note 156 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 1850, f. 199-202, “*Index maior*”: catalogue-inventory of the Library of Saint-Amand, written at Saint-Amand between 1159 and 1166: n. 157 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 2445, 9<sup>th</sup> c., corrected by the hand of Iohannes Scottus Eriugena, origin: Monastery of Hautvilliers (France 51180, Marne, near Rheims): note 191 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 3584, f. 1v<sup>o</sup>-10, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* (*siglum*: A): p. 183 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 5543, f. 1v<sup>o</sup>-2v<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Medical manuscript fragments: n. 60 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 5730, Codex “Puteanus” (i. e. having belonged to French humanist Claude Dupuy, 1545-1594), in uncial script, 5<sup>th</sup> c., III<sup>rd</sup> Decade of Titus Livius: note 114 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 6639, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, f. 3r<sup>o</sup>-72v<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., middle, (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin [?]): Intro., p. 10, n. 4 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 6769, f. 1v<sup>o</sup>-54r<sup>o</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> c., Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, glosses 10<sup>th</sup> c., origin: France: note 200 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 7021, f. 118v-119r, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Medical manuscript fragments: note 60 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 7183, (*De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, f. 1v<sup>o</sup>-15v<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., middle, Glosses in Latin Stenography | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: Saint-Denis-en-France): Intro., p. 10, n. 4 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 7185, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, f. 1r<sup>o</sup>-40r<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., 1<sup>st</sup> half, (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: [?]): Intro., p. 11, n. 5 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 7200, Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, 9<sup>th</sup> c., (Glosses in Latin Stenography | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: [Laon–Soissons (?) via Fleury-sur-Loire (?)]): n. 111, 112, 165 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 7297, Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, 9<sup>th</sup> c., (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: [Fleury (?), Auxerre (?)]): notes 111, 130, 190 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 7359, (Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, f. 2r<sup>o</sup>-82r<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., 1<sup>st</sup> half, Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin [?]): Intro., p. 11, n. 5 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 7369, ex Italia, f. 67, f. 74r<sup>o</sup>-v<sup>o</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> c. (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: P): note 177 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 9768, 10<sup>th</sup> c., contains the oldest known copy of the *Sacramenta Argentariae*, *Sacramenta Strasburgi*, *Sacramenta Strazburgi*, *Serments de Strasbourg*, *Strassburger Eide*, *Oaths of Strasburg*, f. 13r<sup>o</sup>, column 2: p. 74, n. 72, p. 146-147, n. 202 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 10275, Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, 11<sup>th</sup> c., (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: Echternach): p. 106 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 11218, f. 119, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Medical manuscript fragments: n. 60 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 12044, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *in.*, f. 151-152, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *Histoira sancti Petri*, Antiphonary of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés: note 156 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 12050, (Gradual, origin: Corbie, Somme F-80800, after 853, *siglum*: K): note 134 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin, 12949, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c., Boethii *Opuscula sacra*, f. 53-62, (Glosses in clear Latin, short version | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: Corbie [?], via Saint-Germain-des-Près, Paris): n. 201 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 12960, Iohannis Scotti Eriugena *Annotationes in Marcianum Capellam*, 9<sup>th</sup> c. (origin: Corbie [?]): note 101 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 13009, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, f. 1r<sup>o</sup>-51r<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., 1<sup>st</sup> half, (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: Corbie [?]): Intro., p. 10, n. 4 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 13159, Psalter of Charlemagne, see f. 167r<sup>o</sup> to f. 167v<sup>o</sup>, (origin: Corbie [?], for Saint-Riquier), 8<sup>th</sup> c., *ca.* 795: note 130 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 13345, f. 96v<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>1</sup>”: note 104 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 13418, f. 106-113, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* (*siglum*: S): p. 184 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 13908, (part 1), Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, 9<sup>th</sup> c., origin: [Corbie (?)]): p. 93, note 111 •

**Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 13908, (part 2), Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>2</sup>”: p. 88, n. 104 •

- Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 13955, Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, 9<sup>th</sup> c. (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum*, origin: Corbie [?], Fulda [?]): n. 111 •
- Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 14064, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, f. 1r<sup>o</sup>-83r<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., 1<sup>st</sup> half, (Glosses in Latin Stenography | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs], origin: Corbie [?]): Intro., p. 10, n. 4, p. 11, n. 5; p. 42: n. 1, p. 44, p. 50, p. 52, p. 62, p. 63, p. 64-65, p. 77-78, p. 100, p. 115 •
- Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 14088, f. 1r<sup>o</sup> - 1v<sup>o</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>2</sup>”: note 104 •
- Paris** BnF, Fonds latin 14489, f. 1-62, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Abbeniatio Monacensis* (commentary on Boethii *De Hedomadibus*, Boethii *Contra Eutychem*): p. 184 •
- Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 14663, ca. 1403-1422, is an incomplete copy of the manuscript Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 9768; origin, Saint-Victor de Paris: p. 74, n. 72 •
- Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 15601, f. 98-100, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* (*siglum*: Q): p. 184 •
- Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 17436, Gradual of Compiègne, Oise 60200 France, 9<sup>th</sup> c., second half, (*siglum*: C): note 134 •
- Paris**, BnF, Fonds latin 18096, f. 45-48, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* (*siglum*: R): p. 184 •
- Paris**, BnF, nouvelle acquisition latine [n.a.l.] 329 (*olim* Cluni 84, v. 820-838), f. 116: 10-15, f. 117: 7-12 (Amalarii *Liber officialis*, I, III, 11): notes 52, 53 •
- Paris**, BnF, n.a.l. 1235, f. 234v<sup>o</sup>-235, 12<sup>th</sup> c., Hucbaldi Elnonensis *Gloria Quem uere pia laus*, Gradual-Tonary-Tropar-Prosar of the Cathedral of Nevers: n. 156 •
- Paris**, BnF, n.a.l. 1614, Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, f. 1r<sup>o</sup>-75r<sup>o</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> c., 1<sup>st</sup> half, (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: St.-Martin de Tours [?] | Fleury [?]): Intro., p. 10, n. 4 •
- Paris** [France-75005], Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Codex 111, (Sacramentary-Gradual, origin: Senlis, Oise F-60300, ca. 880, *siglum*: S): note 134 •
- Praha [Prague]**, [Czech Republic-12800], Bibliothéka Univerzity Karlovy V Praze XIX. C. 26 (*olim* Tetschensis 273), 11<sup>th</sup> c., ex Belgia, f. 19-28v<sup>o</sup>, (Manuscript Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: T): note 177 •
- Reims [Rheims]**, [France-51100], Bibliothèque municipale 875: f. 1-80, 113-318, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>1</sup>”: note 104 •
- Reims [Rheims]**, Bibliothèque municipale 875: f. 81-112, 319-358, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Glosses attributed to Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: Hand “i<sup>2</sup>”: n. 104 •
- Sankt Gallen** [Switzerland | CH-9000], Stiftsbibliothek, 845, end of 9<sup>th</sup> c., Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*, p.158-68, glosses 10<sup>th</sup> c. Book III, *Metrum* 9, origin: Sankt Gallen: note 200 •
- Sankt Gallen**, Stiftbibliothek, 878 (Walafried “Strabo”, *Computus*): note 69 •
- Strasbourg** [France-67000], 15<sup>th</sup> c., anno 1870 in flammis deperditus [lost in the fire of 1870], a Martino Gerbert collatus, ex Italia (Manuscript “S”, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*): note 177 •
- Torino [Turin]**, [Italy-10123, Piemonte], Biblioteca nazionale, F. IV. 1 Fasciculo 3, 7<sup>th</sup> c., fragment of Boethii *De institutione arithmetica* (oldest known fragment of the treatise, origin: Italy, Bobbio Monastery 41): Intro. ¶ [2], p. 9 •



- Tours** [France-37000], Bibliothèque municipale 85, f. 181-183v°, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, *siglum*: T): p. 184 •
- Tours**, Bibliothèque municipale 300, f. 67-70v°, 12<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Commentum* super Boethii *De trinitate* uel *Librum hunc*, (Provenance: Saint-Martin, Tours, Ordo sancti Benedicti, *siglum*: [T<sup>2</sup>]): p. 184 •
- Valenciennes** [France-59300], Bibliothèque municipale 39 (*olim* 33), f. 2r°, “*Index minor*”: catalogue-inventory of the Library of Saint-Amand, written at Saint-Amand between 1123 and 1136: note 157 •
- Valenciennes**, Bibliothèque municipale 148 (*olim* 133), 9<sup>th</sup> c. *ex.*, Aurelianus Reomensis *Musica disciplina*: note 129 •
- Valenciennes**, Bibliothèque municipale 174 (*olim* 166), 10<sup>th</sup> c., f. 38: note 149 •
- Valenciennes**, Bibliothèque municipale 337 (*olim* 325, 359), 10<sup>th</sup> c., *Musica Enchiriadis*: f. 42-54v°, *Scolica Enchiriadis*: f. 55v°-79v°: note 162 •
- Valenciennes**, Bibliothèque municipale 500 (*olim* 449), 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 50-52, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *Passio sanctorum Cyrici et Iulittae*: note 155 •
- Vaticano** [Italy-00120], Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, latinus 615, 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 283, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *Passio sanctorum Cyrici et Iulittae*: note 155 •
- Vaticano**, BAV, latinus 6074, 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 83, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *Passio sanctorum Cyrici et Iulittae*: note 155 •
- Vaticano**, BAV, latinus 3363, f. 2-60, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Boethii *Consolatio*, origin: Fleury [?]: n. 188 •
- Vaticano**, BAV, Reginensis latinus 535, f. 2-12, 13<sup>th</sup> c., *Theodorici Carnotensis Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* (*siglum*: V): p. 184 •
- Vaticano**, BAV, Reginensis latinus 762, 9<sup>th</sup> c., III<sup>rd</sup> Decade of Titus Livius (copied from Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 5730, 5<sup>th</sup> c., i. e. Codex “Puteanus”, having belonged to French humanist Claude Dupuy, 1545-1594): note 114 •
- Vaticano**, BAV, Reginensis latinus 1587, f. 57-64v°, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Iohannes Scottus Eriugena, *Carmina*, (origin: Fleury-sur-Loire [?]): p. 81-82 •
- Vaticano**, BAV, Reginensis latinus 1638, Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, 9<sup>th</sup> c., (Glosses in clear Latin | *notae sententiarum* [cross reference signs | annotation signs], origin: Fleury-sur-Loire [?]): notes 111, 130, 190 •
- Venezia** [**Venice**], [Italy-30124], Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. app. cl. VI n° 10, 12<sup>th</sup> c., Ptolemaïou *tà Harmoniká*: note 106 •
- Venezia**, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 497 (loc. 181 1), 11<sup>th</sup> c., medii, ex Italia, f. 146v° (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: V): note 177 •
- Wien** [**Vienna**], [Austria-1010], Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cpv 51 (*olim* Univ. 38), 12<sup>th</sup> c., ex Bavaria, f. 35r°-35v° (Fragment, Hucbaldi Elnonensis *De musica*, *siglum*: W): note 177 •
- Wolfenbüttel** [Germany-38304, Niedersachsen], Herzog August Bibliothek, 9, 8 Aug. 4°, Glossary of Latin Stenography (Saint-Amand [?], a. D. 850-860): p. 17 •
- Zürich** [Switzerland | CH-8462], Zentralbibliothek, Codex 30, (Gradual, origin: Rheinau, Kanton Zürich, *ca.* 800, *siglum*: R): note 134 •

**INDEX (GENERAL):**

- Aachen (*Aquisgranum*, *Aquis Grana*, *Aquae Grani*, *Aquensis urbs*, Germany: D – 52062 - 52080): p. 45, note 9
- Abbo Floriacensis (Abbon of Fleury, \*ca. 945-†1004): n. 187, 229-234
- Abaelardus (Petrus) (\*1079-†1142): note 249
- Ad mensam philosophiae sitientes currite...*: Epilogue, p. 192-193, n. 277
- Admonitio generalis* (*Decree of General Admonition*): Prologue, n. 10, n. 41
- Alcuini *De grammatica* [or *De grammaria* or *Disputatio de uera philosophia*]: note 40
- Alcuinus Euboricensis (Alcuin of York, \*ca. 730-†Tours, 804): notes 15-46
- Alýpios (ca. 360), *Musical Introduction* [Ἀλύπιος Εἰσαγωγή μουσική]: n. 161
- Amalarius Symphosius Metensis (Amalarius of Metz, ca. 775-780-†ca. 850): n. 47
- Amalarii *Canonis missae interpretatio* (ca. 814): note 47
- Amalarii *Liber officialis* (Book of Liturgical worship Services by Amalarius): n. 47
- animae generatio* (genesis of the soul, Boethii *De arithmetica* II,2): p. 9, p. 42, n. 1; n. 270
- anima mundi* (*World Soul*, Boethii *De institutione musica* I,1): p. 189, n. 270
- Anselmus Cantuariensis (Anselm of Canterbury, \*1033 -†1109): n. 248
- Anselmus Laudnensis (Anselm of Laon, \*ca. 1050-†1117): note 249
- Apuleius (Lucius), \*Madaura, ca. 125 - †Carthage, ca. 180: p. 85
- Archýtas o Tarantínos (\*428-†347 BCE, “inventor” of the 10 *Categories*): notes 58, 59, 273
- ars medica* (the art or discipline of medicine): p. 66, note 60
- Artes liberales* (*quadrivium* • *trivium*): p. 50-51, n. 17-20, p. 187, n. 267
- Artes liberales* (*artes liberae* • *artes pueriles*): p. 51, note 20
- Augia Insula* (Reichenau, monastery founded in 724 by Pirminius): p. 93
- Augustinus (Aurelius), \*354-†430: note 20
- Aulus Gellius *Noctæ atticae* [*Noctum atticarum*] XIII,17 (\*125-†ca. 185): Prologue, p. 44-45, note 8; Chapter 1, p. 52, n. 21
- Aurelianus Reomensis (†ca. 850-860): Chapter 6, p. 113, *passim*
- Auxerre (France-88000, Yonne, Burgundy): Chapter 8 (C), p. 144, note 192
- Bede (The Venerable), †Thursday, May 26, 735: note 24
- Bernardus Carnotensis (†ca. 1130): note 261
- Bernardus Silvestris (\*ca. 1085-†ca. 1178): p. 180, note 258 (2)
- Bivium* (2-way road, figuratively: *curriculum* of 2 disciplines): Ch. 1, n. 17
- Boeci(s)* (Occitan poem on Boethius): Ch. 8 (D), p. 147-150, n. 202-206
- Boethian Eulogy (attributed to Gerbert of Aurillac): note 224
- Boethii *Consolatio Philosophiae*: p. 12-13, 137-155, 172-174, 187
- Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* (*On the fundamental philosophy of numbers and proportions in two books*): Prologue, n. 1, 4, 5, 6, 23; n. 78-87, 267
- Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque* (*On the fundamental philosophy of music [and musical sound] in five books*): Ch. 5, p. 91, *passim*, Epilogue, n. 267

- Boethius (Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus): *passim*  
 Boethius (Hagiography: the study of Saints): Ch. 8 (E), p. 150, n. 208-211  
 Clarembaldus Atrebatensis (Clarembald of Arras, \*ca. 1110-†ca. 1187): n. 259 (1)  
*Categories* (ή κατηγορία, -ας | αἱ δέκα κατηγορίαι, -ων | *decem categoriae* or *praedicamenta* | 10 philosophical adverb-categories): p. 9; notes 58, 59, 85, 273  
 Cathédrale de Chartres: Chapter 11, p. 176  
 Charlemagne (Karolus Magnus \*ca. 747-†814): p. 49, note 15  
 Charles II “The Bald” (King in 838, Emperor in 875, grandson of Charlemagne, \*823-†877): notes 66, 69, 77, 88  
 Catullus (Caius Valerius), Verona, ca. 54 BCE, *Carmina*, LVIII, 4: n. 17  
 Celestial bodies [1] (according to Plato and Calcidius: ἡ Γῆ [Earth] • ἡ Σελήνη [Moon] • ὁ ἥλιος [Sun] • ὁ Ἐωσφόρος [Venus] • ὁ Ἑρμῆς [Mercury] • ὁ Ἄρης [Mars] • ὁ Ζεύς [Juppiter] • ὁ Κρόνος [Saturne] • cf. Pláton, *Timaios* §38 D, §40 E; Calcidius *Timaeus* §XCVI-XCVII): p. 86, note 96  
 Celestial bodies [2] (according to Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός, Κλαύδιος Πτολεμαῖος, Boethius, and John Scott Eriugena: [Terra] • Luna [Moon] • Mercurius • Venus • Sol [Sun] • Mars • Juppiter • Saturnus • cf. Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque* I,27): page 86, notes 97-99  
 Cicero (Marcus Tullius), \*823-†877, *De oratore* I,III,11: p. 45, n. 8; p. 51, n. 20, 21  
*cognitio* (cognitive process | perception): p. 9; Ch. 5, p. 101-102; p. 189, n. 271  
*Concordia discordantium canonum* (Canon Law Code, compiled, in two rescensions between 1139 and 1151, by the Italian Combalese monk Giovanni Gratiano, in 3 parts: *Distinctiones*, *Causae*, *De consecratione*): p. 46, note 11  
*continua proportio superparticularis* (*regime of the octave*): n. 84, n. 269  
 Corbie (Monsatery of), France-80800, Amiens, Picardie: note 110  
*De architectura* (Treatise on Architecture by Vitruvius): note 33  
*De rationali et ratione uti* (Treatise on Logic by Gerbert of Aurillac): n. 226  
*Decretum Gratiani* (Code of Canon Law compiled by Gratianus 1139-1151): p. 46 n. 11  
*disce ut doceas* (“*teach in order to learn*”: motto of Alcuin of York): n. 45  
*divina officia* (Greek: ἡ λειτουργία, -ας • *liturgia*, liturgy): note 63  
*duality* [δύας, -άδος (ή)], “Twoness”, 2<sup>nd</sup> essence: p. 64, note 55; p. 98  
*Duniaco*, Dugny-sur-Meuse (F-55100, Canton: Verdun, Meuse): note 73  
 Dupuy (Claude) [Claudius Puteanus], \*1545-†1594: note 114  
*ecdotic* proto-philological research (i. e. critical editions): Inrto. ¶ [2], p. 12  
 Eginhardus (\*ca. 770 – †ca. 840), *Vita Karoli Magni* XXV (Biography of Charlemagne, Ch. 25): p. 49, note 15  
 Eleusinian Mysteries (αἱ ἐλευσίνια τελεταί or αἱ ἐλευσίνια μυστήρια, ἡ καθάρσις = purification, ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις = tradition of mysteries, ἡ ἐποπτεία = initiation, ὁ ἐπίδεσμος καὶ ἡ ἐπίθεσις τῶν στέφανων =

ligatures and imposition of crowns, ἡ εὐδαιμονία = happiness, bliss, the supreme state of beatitude, meaning the *summum bonum*. 59, note 46

*Epistola generalis* (*Epistle on general admonition and culture*): p. 58, note 42

*Epistola de litteris colendis* (*Epistle on cultivating the arts and letters*): p. 58, n. 43

*eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*: Intro. ¶ [1], p. 7, n. 1, p. 9; p. 44-45, n. 8  
*ex asse* (*as, assis*: all inclusive, completely): Introduction ¶ [2], p. 9

faculty of the senses (*cognitio, perceptio*): Chapter 5, p. 91, *passim*

Ferrières-en-Gâtinais (France-45210, Montargis, Loiret): p. 142, n. 188

First Bible of Charles the Bald, *in-folio*, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 1, ca. 844-851, (Richly illuminated | origin: Saint-Martin of Tours): p. 75, note 75

Fleury-sur-Loire (Monastery of): Ch. 1, p. 49, n. 14, Ch. 8, p. 140, n. 187

*Fontanetum* (Fontenoy-en-Puisaye, France-89520): note 71

Fontenoy-en-Puisaye (fratricidal battle of): p. 73-74, note 71

Frederick I Barbarosa (\*1122-†1190), Staufen [Hohenstaufen] dynasty,  
10<sup>th</sup> Emperor of the *Imperium Romanum Sacrum* (Holy Roman Empire):  
Prologue p. 45, Chapter 9, p. 157

Fulbertus Carnotensis (Fulbert of Chartres, \*ca. 960 -†1028): Ch. 12, p. 179, *passim*

Gaudéntios (2<sup>nd</sup> c., a. D.) [Γαυδέντιος, Ἀρμονικὴ εἰσαγωγή,  
*Armonikì eisagogí*, Gaudentius, *Harmonic Introduction*]: note 161

*General culture* | *General knowledge*: n. 276

Gerbertus Aureliacensis (Gerbert of Aurillac, Pope Sylvester II, \*Beillac,  
ca. 938 – 999-†1003: Chapter 10 (A), p. 167

Gilbertus Porretanus (Gilbert of Porrée, \*ca. 1080-†1154): note 254

*Good* (the *Highest Good* | Latin: *summum bonum*): p. 45, n. 8; p. 85; n. 275

Gratianus (Camaldolese-Benedictine monk): p. 46, note 11

Gratianus, Iohannes (Giovanni or [Francesco] Graziano, †ca. 1160): p. 46, n. 11

Guido of Arezzo (†ca. 1050): note 163

Guillelmus de Campellis or Campellensis (William of Champeaux, \*1070-† 1122,  
Master at the Cathedral School of Notre-Dame de Paris, founder of the Abbey Saint  
Victor of Paris in 1108 governed by the Augustinian Rule): note 251

Guillelmus de Conchis (William of Conches, \*ca. 1080-†ca. 1154): note 256

Haimo Autissiodorensis ([Haymo, Aimo] of Auxerre, \*ca. 790-†ca. 865-  
875, student of Muretach): note 197

Heiricus Autissiodorensis (Heric of Auxerre, †ca. 876, student of:  
Iohannes Scottus Eriugena, Lupus, Haimo): note 198

*Hepateuchon* (Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres, manuscripts 497-498, 12<sup>th</sup>  
century, compilation in two volumes, with prologue by Thierry of Chartres,  
dedicated to the seven *Liberal arts*): note 262

Herradis Landsbergensis (Herrade de Landsberg, \*1125-†1195): n. 217

Hildegardis Bingensis (Hildegard von Bingen, \*1098-†1179): note 216

Hrabanus “Maurus” (\*780-†856, student of Alcuin of York): note 70

- Hrotsvitha Gandersheimensis (Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim, \*935-†ca. 1002): n. 215
- Hucbaldus Elnonensis (Hucbald of Saint-Amand, \*ca. 840-†930): note 139
- Hugo de Sancte Victore (Hugh of Saint Victor, \*1078-†1141): note 258 (1)
- Humanitas* (complete general culture): Intro. ¶ [1], p. 7, note 1, p. 9
- Hygiene (intellectual and cognitive): Ch. 11, p. 175, 177; Epilogue, p. 191
- Imperium Romanum Sacrum* (Holy Roman Empire): Ch. 9, p. 157
- Index maior* (Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 1850, f. 199-202, library catalogue-inventory of Saint-Amand, written at Saint-Amand between 1159 and 1166, containing 315 articles, which correspond to 359 manuscripts, 278 of which date before 1150, and 107 of which are lost. 18 of the 359 volumes are attributed to Hucbald): note 157
- Index minor* (Valenciennes, B.m. 39 (*olim* 33), f. 2r°, library catalogue-inventory of Saint-Amand, written at Saint-Amand between 1123 and 1136, containing 31 titles, 11 of which are attributed to Hucbald): note 157
- Ioannis Saresberiensis (John of Salisbury, \*ca. 1115/20-†1180): n. 259 (2)
- Job (The Old-Testament Book of), type of *consolatio*: Intro. p. 13, n. 8; p. 137-138
- Johannes Scottus Eriugena (\*ca. 810-†ca. 877): notes 89-104, 147, 148, 195
- Iuvenalis (Decimus Iunius), \*ca. a.D. 60 [?]-†ca. 130, *Satirae* I, 63-64: p. 50, n. 17
- Laisse* (*ensemble* of poetical lines in Occitan poetry) : note 204
- Lanfrancus Paviensis seu Beccensis (\*1005-†1089): note 247
- Laon (France-02000, l'Aisne, Picardie): note 249
- Liberal Arts* (αἱ ἐλευθέριοι τέχναι): Intro. p. 8; p. 44, n. 7, 8; n. 20, 68
- Louis the Pious (born in Casseneuil [?], Agenais, F-47440) ca. 776-778): note 67
- Lupus Servatus Ferrariensis (\*ca. 805-†ca. 862): notes 188, 196
- Macrobius (5<sup>th</sup> c., a. D.): note 8, Bibliographie, p. 202
- Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (\*ca. 80-70 B.C.-†ca. 25 B.C.): note 33
- Martianus Capella (5<sup>th</sup> c.): p. 51, note 20
- Martinus Hiberniensis (Martin Laudunensis, Martin of Laon, †ca. 875): note 194
- maxima et perfecta symphonia* (*quattuor termini* VI VIII IX XII): p. 9; p. 78, n. 87
- medietates* (means, proportions in arithmetic): p. 9; p. 78, note 86
- Menippean satire (after the Cynic satirist Μένιππος, Ménippos, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE): n. 185
- Murethach [Muridac, Muriedach] of Auxerre (†ca. 845-855 [?]): note 193
- Musica et Scolica Enchiridis* and *Commemoratio brevis*: notes 162, 176
- Neustria* (Western part of France): Prologue, p. 46, note 12
- Notker III Labeo seu Teutonicus (\*ca. 950-†ca. 1022): Ch. 10 (C), p. 172
- notae sententiarum* (cross-reference signs, cf. Isidori hispalensis episcopi *Etymologiarum* I,21): Chapter 5 ¶ 9, p. 107-110, Chapter 8, note 191
- notae tironianae* (Latin Stenography): Intro. p. 15, Ch. 5 ¶ 7, p. 106, Ch. 8, n. 191
- Oaths of Strasburg* (*Serments de Strasbourg*): p. 74, n. 72, p. 146-147, n. 202
- Occitan language: p. 146-147, notes 202, 204
- Októichos* [ὀκτώηχος], the 8 musical Church modes: note 175

*Ordo Palatii* (Network of royal Carolingian monasteries): p. 46, note 12  
 Otto I, The Great (\*912-†973, Duke of Saxony and King of Germany, as well as King of Italy, 1<sup>st</sup> Emperor of the *Imperium Romanum Sacrum*, that is to say the Holy Roman Empire): Chapter 9 ¶ 1, p. 157  
 Ottonian Renaissance: Chapter 9 ¶ 1, p. 157  
*PAFFNVCIVS ET THAIS* [Παφνούτιος | Θαῖς] (Hrotsvithae): notes 215, 218  
*perceptio sensuum* (perception through the senses): Chapter 5, p. 101  
 Petrus Abaelardus (Peter Abelard, \*1079-†1142), student of Anselm of Laon and of William of Champeaux: note 252  
 Philosophy of being (τὸ ὄν, ὄντος): p. 43, p. 86  
 Plato, οἱ Νόμοι ἢ Νομοθεσίαι ΜΓ (Laws 631-C): Intro. p. 8 n. 2; n. 275  
 Plato, Τίμαιος ἢ περὶ Φύσεως (*Tímaios or on Nature*, 35, 36): p. 42, n. 1; n. 20, 115  
 Porphyrios ο Τύριος, †305 (student of Plotinos): notes 20, 227, 274  
 post-Carolingian branch of the *Tradition of Knowledge*: p. 45  
*Praedicamenta* (*decem*), 10 philosophical categories: p. 9; notes 55-59, 85, 273  
*primus et incompositus numerus* (prime numbers): p. 9, p. 77, note 82  
*principalitas unitatis* (primacy of the number 1): p. 9, p. 77, note 81  
*Quadrivium* [1] (*quattuor matheseos disciplinae: ars arithmetica, ars musica, ars geometrica, ars astronomica*): p. 44: n. 3, 4, 5; n.: 17, 18, 19, 20, 245, 267  
*Quadrivium* [2] (αἱ τέσσαρες μέθοδοι | *quattuor matheseos disciplinarum* | the 4 mathematical disciplines: *arithmetica, musica, geometria, astronomia*): p. 44, n. 3; n. 219  
*Quattuor termini* (•VI•VIII•VIII•XII• | Boethii *De arithmetica* II,54): p. 115  
*Quattuor uirtutes animæ* (*the 4 virtues of the soul*): p. 45: n. 8; p. 75, n. 75; p. 85  
*quinque res* or *quinque voces* (5 universal concepts): note 274  
 receptacle (ἡ ὑποδοχή | ἡ χώρα): Prologue ¶ 1, p. 41, Epilogue ¶ 2, p. 188  
 Reginbertus (†846), armarius (librarian) at *Augia Insula*: n. 14, 38, 109  
 Remigius Autissiodorensis (Remigius of Auxerre, \*841-†ca. 908, student of Lupus Servat of Ferrières and of Heiricus of Auxerre): note 199  
*res quae natura incorporea sunt* (intangible things of nature): p. 9, p. 77, n. 79  
 reservoir (τὸ ὑποδοχεῖον | ἡ κρήνη): Prologue ¶ 1, p. 41, Epilogue ¶ 2, p. 188  
*rex doctus* (Charles “the Bald”, †877, *learned, erudite King*): note 77  
 Roscellinus Compendiensis, (Roscelin of Compiègne, \*1050-†1121), Master at Tours (Fr-37000), Loches (Fr-37600), Compiègne (Fr-60200): n. 250  
 Royal “poet-laureate” philosopher (Iohannes Scottus Eriugena): p. 79-80  
*Sacramenta Argentariae* (*Sacramenta Strasburgi, Sacramenta Strazburgi, Serments de Strasbourg, Strasburger Eide, Oaths of Strasbourg*): p. 73-74, n. 72, p. 146-147, n. 202  
 Sacred Congregation of Rites (*Congregatio pro Sacri Ritibus et Ceremoniis*): p. 28-29  
 Saint-Amand (Monastery of): Chapter 7, p. 119  
 Saint-Martin of Tours (Monastery of): Chapter 1, p. 49, *passim*  
 San Felice and San Naborre (Monastery of): p. 46, note 11, *passim*

- Schola Carnotensis* (School of Chartres): Ch. 11 p. 175-Ch. 12, p. 179-185  
*Schola palatina*: Chapter 1, p. 49, *passim*  
*scotti peregrini* (*Scottish foreigners*), Clemens (in Aachen before Alcuin), Witto, or Withso, Wizzo, Wizo (Candidus), Frithugils (Fridugisus) Abbot of Saint-Martin of Tours and of Saint-Paul of Cormery, after Alcuin's death, from 804 to 834), Dicuil (astronomer), Dungal (astronomer), Hibernicus Exul, Joseph Scottus (Irish): n. 34  
*sensorium* (faculty of sense perception): Ch. 5, p. 101-102, Epilogue, note 271  
*Serments de Strasbourg* (*Oaths of Strasbourg*): p. 74, n. 72, p. 146-147, n. 202  
 Sevenfold canon of the *Liberal arts*: p. 51, note 20  
 Severinus Boethius (Hagiography of): note 211  
*sonus* (ὁ φθόγγος), (sound, musical sound): Ch. 5, p. 102; n. 222, n. 271  
*Studia generalia*: p. 46, note 13  
*substantia numeri* (*essence of number*): p. 9, p. 77, n. 80; p. 189, n. 269  
*summum bonum* (pl. *summa bona*, *quattuor virtutes animae*, the *Highest Good*, or the 4 virtues of the soul, the divine and human good: *prudence-wisdom*, *moderation-temperance*, *justice-righteousness*, *courage-stamina*): p. 9, p. 45, n. 8; n. 275  
 Symmachus (Quintus Aurelius Memmius) †ca. 525: Intro. ¶ [0], p. 7  
 Theodoricus Carnotensis (or Theodoricus Brito or Tirricus: Thierry of Chartres, †ca. 1154): n. 257  
 Theodulphus Aurelianensis (Theodulf of Orléans, \*ca. 760 – †821): n. 189  
*Tradition of Knowledge*: p. 41, *passim*  
*Tres genera musicae* (Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*, I, 2): p. 163, n. 221  
*Triality* [τριάς, –άδος (ῆ)], arithmetic threeness, mixed essence of 1 and 2: p. 98  
*Trinity* (“Threeness”) (mixed essence of the *Unity* 1 + the *Duality* 2): n. 56  
*Trivium* (*ars grammatica*, *ars dialectica*, *ars rhetorica*): n. 18, 20, 245, 267  
*Unity* [ἕν, ἐνός (τὸ)] (“Oneness”, 1<sup>st</sup> essence): p. 64, n. 55; p. 98  
*Unity of Culture* (composite general culture): *passim*  
*Universitas magistrorum atque scholarium uel discipulorum* (guild or community of masters and students or disciples): p. 46, note 13  
*Urbs aquensis*, *urbs regalis* (*Aquae Grani* D – 52062 → 52080 Aachen): p. 45, n. 9  
*variabilis res* (variable things in nature): p. 9, p. 77, n. 78  
*Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis euboricensis ecclesiae*: note 35  
 Vitruvius (Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, \*ca. 80-70 BCE - †ca. 25 BCE) *De architectura*: note 33  
 Walafried [Walafrid] “Strabo” (\*808-†849): notes 69, 88  
 Wisdom Literature: Chapter 8 (A), p. 137



# INDEX-GLOSSARY (GREEK):

ἀγαθά (τὰ) ἀνθρώπινα (ἡ φρόνησις: wisdom • ἡ σωφροσύνη: moderation • ἡ δικαιοσύνη: justice • ἡ ἀνδρεία: courage): p. 7-8, p. 85, p. 190

ἀγαθά (τὰ) θεῖα (ἡ ὑγίεια: hygiene • τὸ κάλλος: beauty • ἡ ἰσχύς: power • ὁ πλοῦτος: riches): p. 7-8, n. 2; p. 43, p. 85, p. 190, n. 275

αἴσθησις, -εως (ἡ) (*perceptio, sensum*, sense perception, sens, sense organs, five senses, sensation, exterior sense perception, sensorial intelligence, etc.): p. 101

αἰσθητήριον, -ου (τὸ) (*sensorium, perceptio [ars sensuum]* • faculty of sense organs, faculty of perception, sensorial faculties, etc.): Ch. 5, p. 101, 103

Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Σταγειρίτης, ἠθικῶν Νικόμαχείων (Aristotélis o Stageirítis, *Ethics for [my son] Nikomachos*): p. 85

Ἀριστοτέλους αἱ Κατηγορίαι (*Aristotélous ai Katigoríaí*) IV, 1 b 25 • τὰ Τοπικά [*τὰ Τοπικά*] I, 9, 103 b: 20: p. 65, n. 57, p. 189, n. 273

Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή Α', Γ' : Ζ' - Ζ' (*Arithmetic Introduction I, 3 : 6-7*): p. 44, n. 3

Ἀσκληπιός ὁ Τραλλιανός, Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή (Asklipiós o Trallianós | Asclepius of Tralles: 6<sup>th</sup> c. a. D., *Arithmitikḗ eisagogḗ*): n. 59, note 273

βάνανσοι τέχναι, -ων (αἱ) (sedentary manual arts and crafts of artisans): n. 19

Γαληνός (Galenus, Pergamum, 131 – Rome, 20), *Proptrepticus*, V, 7: note 61

γνώμη, -ης (ἡ) (*cognitio*, cognition): Chapter 5, p. Ch. 5, p. 102

ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, -ας (ἡ) (cycle of studies): 44, note 7; n. 19, n. 62

εἰμαρμένη, -ης (ἡ) | εἰμαρμένος, -ου (ὁ) [*heimarméni : divine providence, fate, righteousness, justice, destiny, etc.*]: Intro. ¶ [3], p. 12, Ch. 8, p. 138, n. 182

ἐλευθέριοι τέχναι (αἱ) (liberal arts, disciplines worthy of free citizens): n. 19, n. 62

ἐλευσίνια μυστήρια, -ων (αἱ) (Eleusinian Mysteries): p. 59, note 46

ἐλευσίνια τελεταί, ων (αἱ) (Eleusinian Mysteries: ἡ καθάρσις [purification], ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις [tradition of mysteries], ἡ ἐποπτεία [initiation], ὁ ἐπίδεσμος καὶ ἡ ἐπίθεσις τῶν στέφανων [ligatures and imposition of crowns], ἡ εὐδαιμονία [happiness, bliss, beatitude *summum bonum*]): p. 59, n. 46

ἕν, ἐνός (τὸ) (“Oneness”, perfect theological and philosophical Unity): p. 86, 98

ἠθικαὶ ἀρεταί, -ῶν (αἱ) (ethical strengths, moral virtues): p. 43, p. 85

Θέων ὁ Συμυρναῖος (†117), *Πλατωνικοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὸ μαθηματικὸν χρησίων εἰς τὴν Πλάτωνος ἀν-ἀγνωσιν*: p. 59, n. 46

θυμός, οὔ (ὁ) (*mens* • mind, soul, conscience, consciousness, breath of life, heart of the emotions, seat of thought, sentiments, etc.): Ch. 5, p. 102

κατηγορίαι (αἱ δέκα) (*The 10 philosophical adverbial categories*): p. 64, n. 57; p. 65, notes 58, 59; p. 77, note 85; p. 189, n. 273



- Κράντωρ Σολεύς (Krántor Soleús, *ca.* 330–270 BCE, disciple of Xenocrátis, †314 BCE, author of *Περὶ Πένθους*: *De luctu, On Grief*): notes 183, 185  
 μέθοδοι, –ων (αὶ τέσσαρες): p. 44, n. 3; n. 219  
 Μένιππος (Ménippos, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE), Greek Cynic and satirist: note 185  
 Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασσηνός (Nikómachos o Gerasinós, *ca.* 100): Intro. ¶ [2], p. 9  
 Νόμοι (Plato *Laws*, III,701d, VII,788-790): Intro. p. 8, n. 2; p. 51, p. 85, p. 100  
 νοῦς, –οῦ (ὁ) (*mens, anima, animus, spiritus, intelligentia, ingenium* • spirit, intelligence, reason, etc.): Chapter 5, p. 102  
 ὅλως σοφός (wholly learned Man–University): Intro. ¶ [1], p. 7  
 παιδεία (ή) (*humanitas* | general culture): p. 51, note 20; p. 91  
 Περὶ Πένθους (Krántor, *Perì Pénthous* | *De luctu* | *On Grief*): n. 183, 185  
 Πλάτωνος Συμπόσιον Ρπζ´ c (Plato, *The Banquet* 187c): p. 92, p. 100  
 Πλάτωνος *Τίμαιος ἡ περὶ Φύσεως* λε´ Β – λς´ Β, Plato *Tímaios or on Nature* ¶35B – ¶36B: p. 42, n. 1; p. 51, n. 20, p. 100, n. 115  
 Πολιτεία (Plato, *Republic*, III,412c, VII,534d): p. 51, note 20, p. 100  
 Πλούταρχος ὁ Χαιρωνεύς (Ploútarchos o Chaironeús, †*ca.* a. D. 120), *Υγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα* (*Recommendations on Health*): p. 51, n. 19, p. 139, n. 184  
 Πλούταρχος ὁ Χαιρωνεύς *Παραμυθικὸς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα* (*Consolation to his Wife*): p. 139, note 184  
 Πορφύριος ὁ Τύριος (Porphýrios o Týrios, †305): p. 51, n. 20; n. 227, n. 274  
 Πτολεμαῖος (Κλαύδιος) (†*ca.* 168), ἡ μέγιστη Πραγματεία: p. 86, n. 97  
 Πτολεμαῖος, τὰ Ἀρμονικά (Ptolemaĩos, *Harmonics*): p. 91-92, n. 106  
 Πρόκλος ὁ Διάδοχος (Prólkos o Diádochos, \**ca.* 412-†*ca.* 485): Intro. ¶ [2], p. 9  
 Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμος (Pythagóras o Sámos, *ca.* 570-†*ca.* 490 BCE): Intro. ¶ [2], p. 9  
 Σέξτος ὁ Ἐμπειρικός, Ψπς´ (Séxtos o Empeirikós [3<sup>rd</sup> century a. D.], 686): n. 19  
 Σύστημα (τὸ ἀμετάβολον): p. 119, note 135  
 ὑποδοχεῖον (τὸ) | κρήνη (ή) (reservoir and source): p. 41, p. 188  
 ὑποδοχή (ή) | χώρα (ή), (receptacle): Prologue, p. 41, Epilogue, p. 188  
 φθόγγος, –ου (ὁ), φθέγγεσθαι (*phthongos, sonus, vox*, sound, musical sound: cf. Plato, *Tímaios* 80; Boethii *De musica* I,1; I,8): p. 43, p. 102, p. 164, n. 222, p. 189, n. 271  
 ψυχή, –ῆς (ή) [ή τῆς ψυχῆς γένεσις] (*anima, animus, mens, spiritus*, soul, conscience, breath, spirit, intelligence [genesis of the soul]): p. 100-102  
 ψυχογονία, –ας (ή) (*animae generatio, anima mundi*, the genesis of the soul, the birth of the world soul, the birth of consciousness, etc.): Ch. 5, p. 102  
**Nota bene:** Cf. Greek Glossary (Cognitive Process): Ch. 5, p. 101-102

INDEX (*Descriptiones*: DIAGRAMS | FIGURES):

<i>Descriptio</i> A : Latin Stenography   Critical Glossary   Bibliography	15
<i>Descriptio</i> I : Pythagóras to Boethius   Boethius to Thierry of Chartres	41
<i>Descriptio</i> II : Tironian notes, Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200 (9 <sup>th</sup> c.)	106
<i>Descriptio</i> III : <i>Notae Sententiarum</i> , Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200 (9 <sup>th</sup> c.)	108
<i>Descriptio</i> IV : <i>Notae Sententiarum</i> , Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200 (9 <sup>th</sup> c.)	109
<i>Descriptio</i> V : <i>Notae Sententiarum</i> , Paris, BnF, Fonds Latin 7200 (9 <sup>th</sup> c.)	110
<i>Descriptio</i> VI : 8 modes-tropes-Greek notation, Boethii <i>De musica</i> IV,16	128
<i>Descriptio</i> VII : Lydian diatonic scale, Beothii <i>De musica</i> IV,3	129
<i>Descriptio</i> VIII : 10 discret musical notations: 6 <sup>th</sup> to 21 <sup>st</sup> century	130
<i>Descriptio</i> IX : Boethii <i>De musica</i> IV,3   Hucbaldi <i>De musica</i> ¶38 et ¶47	133
<i>Descriptio</i> X : 7 Discrete Musical Notations, 6 <sup>th</sup> to 21 <sup>st</sup> century	134
<i>Descriptio</i> XI : Synoptic Chart   Hagiography of Severinus Boethius	152
<i>Descriptio</i> XII : <i>Musica mundana</i>   <i>humana</i>   <i>instrumentroum</i>	163
<i>Descriptio</i> XIII : <i>Definitio soni</i>	164



---

DEDICATION

---

## DEDICATION

- 2012 -

To my parents:

- Allen Booker Taliaferro Humphrey (1903-1979) •
- Alice Almira Parker Humphrey (1915-1990) •

To my parents-in-law:

- Jean-René Buzenet (1910-1998)
- Ann Winifred Dawrant Buzenet (1928- )
- and family •

To my wife and our three sons:

- Marilyn Denise Buzenet-Humphrey •
- Pâris Illo David Fleuve de Buzenet Humphrey •
- Kyrié Eleison René Cèdre de Buzenet Humphrey •
- Ariel Michel-Ange Berger de Buzenet Humphrey •

To my sisters:

- Rachel Elizabeth Humphrey Williams (1940-2008) •
- and family •
- Myrdeth Lynette Humphrey (1941-1945) •

To my brothers:

- Auldwin Taliaferro Humphrey • Wayne Bernard Humphrey •
- and families •

To my friends:

- JoEllen Giles | Eric Giles | Roberta Giles | and family •
- Hayward and Bray Coleman | and family •
- Jean-Louis and Marian Mondon | and family •
- Stephen Christy II and Jennifer Lee Neviaser Christy | and family •
- Juanita Dilworth-Johnson | and family •
- Barry and Brenda Black | and family •
- Earl and Lela Gooding | and family •
- Chi and Sheila Ezenwa | and family •
- Olin Library & Archives | Rollins College | Winter Park, Florida •



---

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- 2012 -

Illo expresses here his most sincere gratitude to his former Professors and Tutors, namely: Pr. Michel Huglo† (CNRS-IRHT), Pr. Jean Vezin (École Pratique des Hautes Études IV<sup>th</sup> Section-Sorbonne), Pr. Iégor Reznikoff (Université de Paris X-Nanterre), Pr. Olivier Guyotjeannin (École nationale des chartes-Sorbonne), Pr. Pascale Bourgain (École nationale des chartes-Sorbonne), Pr. Édouard Jauneau (Pontifical Institute of Mediæval Studies-Toronto), Pr. Calvin M. Bower (University of Notre Dame, USA), etc., for their kindness, and for their guidance, past and present, which gave him multiple skills in the wise management of primary and secondary sources, glosses, commentaries, and in the wise management of the fundamental concepts pertaining to ἡ παιδεία, *humanitas*, *eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*, *animae generatio*, *substantia numeri*, *harmonia*, *summa bona*, etc., to the sevenfold canon of the *Liberal Arts*, to Mediæval Studies, to Proto-Philology (fundamental “*ecdotique*” research on authors, texts, manuscripts, manuscript genealogy [*stemma*], critical editions, etc.), to the Cognitive Process, to Boethius, to the Boethian *corpus*, and to Boethian related research •

• *Explicit* •

### ILLO HUMPHREY, PH. D. | HDR

MEDIÆVALIST | MUSICOLOGIST | PROTO-PHILOLOGIST

Associate Researcher | EA 4593 CLARE | Université Bordeaux Montaigne

Directeur–Fondateur des Colloquia Aquitana | Directeur–Fondateur de La B.I.R.E.

• <https://u-bordeaux3.academia.edu/IlloHumphrey> •

• [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=754](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=754) •

• [illo.humphrey@free.fr](mailto:illo.humphrey@free.fr) • [illohumphrey01@gmail.com](mailto:illohumphrey01@gmail.com) •

- Member of the International Boethius Society • Member of the Medieval Academy of America •
- Member of the APEMUTAM • Member of the ADPC • Member of the ACEOC •
- Member of the SACEM • Member of Academia.edu • Member of ResearchGate • Member of ORCID •
- *Domi, die martis • idibus martii • anno Domini intercalare CB • bis millesimo decimo sexto* •

*feliciter, fideliter, humiliter grateque,  
scripsi et subscripsi.*



### • SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY •

**Albertson (David)**, *Nicholas of Cusa and the Legacy of Thierry of Chartres*, (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology), Oxford University Press, **2014**, xii – 512 pages, Hardback, ISBN: 9780199989737 • **Cover: Bible moralisée** | Wien | Österreichische Nationalbibliothek | Codex 2554 | F. 1v<sup>o</sup>: Deus magnus Operarius et Creator mundi: „In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram“ | Paris | ca. 1215-1250 | Artist unknown • **Table of Contents: Acknowledgements** – p. ix • **Abbreviations** – p. xi • **Introduction** – p. 1: Toward a Genealogy of Christian Neopythagoreanism • **Part 1** – The Genesis of Neopythagoreanism: A Synopsis • **[Ch.] 1.** – p. 23: Platonic Transformations of Early Pythagorean Philosophy • **[Ch.] 2.** – p. 40: The Neopythagorean Revival: Henology and Mediation • **[Ch.] 3.** – p. 60: The Late Antique Preservation of Neopythagoreanism • **[Ch.] 4.** – p. 93: Thierry's Trinitarian Theology in Context • **Part 2** – The Pearl Diver: Thierry of Chartres's Theology of the Quadrivium • **[Ch.] 5.** – p. 119: The Discovery of Folding • **[Ch.] 6.** – p. 140: Thierry's Diminished Legacy • **Part 3** – Bright Nearness: Nicholas of Cusa's Mathematical Theology | **[Ch.] 7.** – p. 169: The Accidental Triumph of *De docta ignorantia* • **[Ch.] 8.** – p. 199: Chartian Theology on Probation in the 1440s • **[Ch.] 9.** – p. 222: The Advent of *theologia geometrica* in the 1450s • **[Ch.] 10.** – p. 253: Completing the Circle in the 1460s • **Epilogue** – p. 277 • **Notes** – p. 281 • **Bibliography** – p. 407 • **Index** – p. 467 • **Added: 15-III-2016** •

**Caiazzo (Irene)**, « Un commento altomedievale al *De arithmetica* di Boezio », *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, **2000**, 58 (58), pp.113-150 • **Nota bene:** This article is published on line by HAL <halshs-00132113> | <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00132113>, submitted on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February, 2007 •

**Caiazzo (Irene)**, *Lectures médiévales de Macrobie: Les « Glosae Colonienses super Macrobius »*: étude et édition, (Études de Philosophie médiévale, 83), Paris (Vrin), **2002**, 352 pages | ISBN 10 : 2711615405 ISBN 13 : 9782711615407 •

**Caiazzo (Irene)**, « Il rinvenimento del commento di Teodorico di Chartres al *De arithmetica* di Boezio », in *Adorare caelestia, gubernare terrena, Atti del Colloquio internazionale in onore di Paolo Lucentini* (Napoli, 6-7 novembre 2007), a cura di P. Arfé, I. Caiazzo, A. Sannino, Turnhout: Brepols **2011**, p. 183-203 •

**Caiazzo (Irene)**, (ed.), *Thierry of Chartres: The Commentary on the De arithmetica of Boethius*. Studies and Texts 191, Toronto (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: PIMS), 262 pages, ISBN 978-0-88844-191-1 | **2015** • **Cover: Dame Philosophy** | Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 1253, 12th century (1st half), Origin: Pegau [?] | Boethius: *De consolazione philosophiae*, f. 3r • © Photo: Dr. Monica Linder, Leipzig, UBL | January 2004 • **Table of Contents: Preface** – p. ix • **Abbreviations** – p. xi • **Introduction** – p. 3 • **[Section 1]:** Thierry of Chartres and the School of Chartres – p. 3 • **[Section 2]:** Commentary and Commentator – p. 22 • **[Section 3]:** Thought, Language, Philosophy – p. 34 • **[Section 4]:** Traditions of Commentary on the *De arithmetica* – p. 70 • **[Section 5]:** Some Concluding Reflections – p. 80 • **[Section 6]:** The Present Work: From Manuscript to Edition – p. 81 • **[Section 7]:** *Teodoricus Carnotensis: Commentum super Arithmetica Boethii* – p. 91 • **Appendix:** A Handlist of Medieval Commentaries on Boethius's *De arithmetica* – p. 209 • **Bibliography** – p. 211 • **Index** – p. 237 • **Added: 15-III-2016** •

### NOTITIA BREVIS:

[¶1] This comprehensive textbook, entitled *Boethius. His Influence on the European Unity of Culture: from Alcuin of York (†804) to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)*, is designed for interdisciplinary laboratory and classroom use on the university level by professors, post-doctoral researchers, doctoral candidates, graduate and undergraduate students in the pluridisciplinary fields of the **sevenfold canon of the Liberal Arts (Quadrivium** [sic]: *ars arithmetica, ars musica, ars geometrica, ars astronomica* | **Trivium**: *ars grammatica, ars dialectica – ars logica, ars rhetorica*), as well as for teachers, parents and students on the secondary high school level •

[¶2] The work has been thoughtfully conceived and elaborated as a veritable research library in itself, permitting the users to understand clearly all the mentioned Boethian word-concepts, Greek and Latin vocabulary, technical terms, editorial terms, etc., without having to go outside the framework of the book itself. To this end, it is equipped with an extensive and up-to-date bibliography on the works, glosses, commentaries, and translations of the Boethian corpus, on the prosopography and hagiography of Boethius, on Boethius and the *Liberal Arts*, and on Boethian related research. It is also equipped with a complete Index-Glossary, namely: **(a)** Catalogue of the 128 principal primary sources (manuscripts) mentioned in the text, **(b)** a General Index, **(c)** a Greek Index, **(d)** an Index of the 14 Descriptiones (Charts, Diagrams, Illustrations) •

[¶3] In short, this new publication on the influence which Ancius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius had on the European Unity of Culture is designed not only to be an excellent research, reference, and pedagogical tool destined for scholar, professor, teacher, student, and pupil alike, but also a very useful companion for the enrichment of παιδεία, *humanitas, eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*, that is to say for the enrichment of general culture, which is in itself a refuge value • IH | ih | Ph. D. | HDR | 2016 • *Explicit* •

## • English Abstract •

Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR

• Mediævalist | Musicologist | Proto-Philologist •

## BOETHIUS.

*His Influence on the European Unity of Culture:**from Alcuin of York (†804) to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)*

• Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH | Nordhausen | Germany | 2012 | 237 pages | 35 Euros •

• ISBN: 978-3-88309-603-2 •

• <http://bautz.de/neuerscheinungen-2010/9783883096032.html> •

[1] Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius (\*Rome, *ca.* 480 – †Pavia, *ca.* 524) was one of the powerful bridges of education and general culture between European Antiquity and the Middle Ages. He was the ideal receptacle (ἡ ὑποδοχή | ἡ χώρα) for the threefold scientific-philosophical-ethical Tradition of Knowledge which led up to him, and the ideal reservoir and source (τὸ ὑποδοχεῖον | ἡ κρήνη) for the thirty-three generations of Masters and pupils which followed him. Given the completeness of his general culture and education, that is to say his *humanitas*, and *eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*, Boethius can thus be considered the Father of western mediæval scientific-philosophical thought, and indeed his research gave to the post-Roman period the key to understanding the substance of true ideas through the study of fundamental concepts, such as: *animae generatio* (genesis of the soul-consciousness), *substantia numeri* (essence of number), *principalitas unitatis* (primacy of the number 1, that is to say the absolute Unity), *continuo proportio superparticularis* (regime of the octave), *sensuum perceptio et cognitio* (sens perception and the cognitive process), *summa bona* or *quattuor uirtutes animae* (the wise management of happiness and suffering, of justice and injustice), *decem categoriae* or *decem praedicamenta* (the ten categories), *quinque uoces* (the five universals), *et caetera*. These important concepts were taught within the framework of the sevenfold canon of the *artes liberales* (*liberal arts*), which were divided into two distinct sections, namely: Quadrivium (*ars arithmetica*• *ars musica*• *ars geometrica*• *ars astronomica*) and Trivium (*ars grammatica*• *ars dialectica*• *ars logica*• *ars rhetorica*) •

[2] The veritable goal of this study, that is to say its true aim, is to bring better into focus the influence of the research and teachings of the Platonist Boethius on the European post-Roman civilisation between the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, period during which Europe structured its basic educational, scientific, philosophical and ethical Unity of Culture, and during which took place the slow gestation of the first European universities, created in Italy, France, England, Spain, Germany, etc. Boethius, thus, comes to the forefront as one of the most important sources for the new Carolingian and post-Carolingian branches of the scientific-philosophical Tradition of Knowledge as of 782, the year in which Alcuinus Euboricensis (Alcuin of York, *ca.* 730 – Tours, 804), invited by Charlemagne, assumed his new functions as *Praeceptor* of the *Schola palatina* in Aachen, down to 1154, the year in which the last of the great dynasty of *paeceptores* of the *Schola Carnotensis* died, that is to say Theodoricus Carnotensis seu Brito, that is to say: Thierry of Chartres or Thierry the Breton •



**[3]** The intellectual and cognitive gestation periods of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries were well-rooted in the very reliable corpus provided by the works of Boethius, and by their multiple glosses and commentaries, corpus which possessed very high standards for civilization management and civilization development. Thus, given the quality of his *Opera omnia* and his *persona*, the spirit of Boethius remained alive in his tangible and intangible intellectual patrimony, allowing him, posthumously, to exert a very positive influence on the founders of mediaeval universities of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries. In this perspective, we can now better measure the legacy of Boethius within the framework of the European general culture from Alcuin of York to Thierry of Chartres, and, above all his subtle and fundamental influence on the European Unity of Culture, which contributed largely to the birth of the *Studia generalia*, or *Uniuersitas magistrorum ac scholarium uel discipulorum* [*discipularumque*], that is to say the European mediæval university, a fundamentally humanitarian institution born out of the mediæval urban society of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries •

**[4] Nota bene:** This publication on Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius includes an Introduction with Bibliography (Boethius: *Opera omnia* | Boethius: *Prosopographia* | Boethius: *Hagiographia*), a Prologue, 12 chapters, an Epilogue, and 5 Appendices, namely: Bibliography (Boethius and the Liberal Arts), Index-Catalogue of the cited Manuscripts (128 primary sources), General Index-Glossary, Greek Index-Glossary, Index of the 14 *Descriptiones* (Illustrations, Diagrams, Figures, Charts). The 14 *Descriptiones* include two glossaries of 9th century Boethian glosses in tironian notes, that is to say Latin stenography [p. 15, p. 104], and one glossary of 9th century *notae sententiarum*, that is to say cross-reference signs or annotation signs [p. 108-110], which accompany the 9<sup>th</sup>-century Boethian glosses in an important family of 9th-century Boethian manuscripts containing the treatise Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque* • IH | ih • *Explicit* •

#### ILLO HUMPHREY, PH. D. | HDR

- <https://u-bordeaux3.academia.edu/IllOHumphrey> •
- [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=754](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=754) •
- [illo.humphrey@free.fr](mailto:illo.humphrey@free.fr) • [illohumphrey01@gmail.com](mailto:illohumphrey01@gmail.com) •

*scripsi et subscripsi.*



## • Résumé français •

**Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR**  
 • Médiéviste | Musicologue | Proto-Philologue •

**BOETHIUS.**

***His Influence on the European Unity of Culture:  
 from Alcuin of York (†804) to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)***  
 Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH | Nordhausen | Allemagne | 2012 | 237 pages | 35 Euros  
 • ISBN: 978-3-88309-603-2 •

• <http://bautz.de/neuerscheinungen-2010/9783883096032.html> •

[1] Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius (\*Rome, ca. 480 - †Pavia, ca. 524) fut l'un des puissants ponts de l'éducation et de culture générale entre l'Antiquité européenne et le Moyen Âge. Il fut le réceptacle idéal (ή ὑποδοχή | ή χώρα) pour la transmission de la *Tradition du savoir* scientifique, philosophique et éthique qui a conduit jusqu'à lui, et la source, c'est-à-dire le réservoir idéal (τὸ ὑποδοχεῖον | ή κρήνη) pour les trente-trois générations de Maîtres et élèves qui l'ont suivi. Étant donné la qualité de sa culture générale et de son éducation, c'est-à-dire son *humanitas*, et son *eruditio institutioque in bonas artes*, Manlius Boethius, peut être considéré comme le père de la pensée scientifique-philosophique du monde médiolatin. De plus, ses recherches ont légué à la période post-romaine les clés pour comprendre la substance des idées vraies à travers l'étude des concepts fondamentaux, tels que: *animae generatio* (genesis of the soul-consciousness), *substantia numeri* (l'essence du nombre), *principalitas unitatis* (primauté de la valeur numérique 1, c'est-à-dire l'unité absolue), *continuo proportio superparticularis* (régime de l'octave), *sensuum perceptio et cognitio* la perception par les sens et le processus cognitif, *decem categoriae* or *decem praedicamenta* (les dix catégories), *quinque uoces* (les cinq universaux) et avant tout *summa bona* ou bien *quattuor uirtutes animae* (la gestion du bonheur et de la souffrance, celle de la justice et l'injustice, c'est-à-dire la gestion du *souverain bien*). Ces concepts importants ont été enseignés dans le cadre des *artes liberales* (αἱ ἐλευθέριοι τέχναι), qui furent organisés par Aurelius Augustinus (*De ordine* II, 7, 12), en un *canon* de sept disciplines divisées en deux parties distinctes, en l'occurrence : **Quadrivium** (*ars arithmetica*• *ars musica*• *ars geometrica*• *ars astronomica*) et **Trivium** (*ars grammatica*• *ars dialectica*• *ars logica*• *ars rhetorica*). Manlius Boethius a légué à la postérité cet enseignement précis, cohérent et bien enraciné dans la *Tradition du savoir* des civilisations grecque et romaine, c'est-à-dire la *παιδεία*, l'*humanitas*, l'*eruditio institutioque in bonas artes* de l'Antiquité européenne. Ainsi, Manlius Boethius fut l'un des protagonistes clé dans la création de l'*unité de culture* européenne, son œuvre devint dès la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le compagnon indispensable pour la nouvelle branche de la tradition du savoir scientifique-philosophique carolingienne. L'œuvre de Manlius Boethius, qui fut introduit sur le Continent principalement par Alcuin d'York et par ses compatriotes, les *scotti peregrini*, entre l'an 782 et 789, devint en effet la fondation du cycle d'études scolaires de base des écoles monastiques et cathédrales de l'*Ordo palatii* des périodes carolingiennes et post-carolingiennes, puis, par la suite, devint l'enseignement de base de la *Faculté des arts* dans le cadre des *Studia generalia* aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles, et dans celui de l'*Universitas magistrorum atque scholarium uel discipulorum* [discipularumque] à partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle •

[2] La finalité de cette étude est de mettre en évidence l'influence de l'enseignement de Manlius Boethius sur la civilisation européenne post-romaine entre la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, période durant laquelle l'Europe a structuré son *Unité de Culture*. En effet, ce fut pendant cette période

qu'a eu lieu la lente gestation des premières universités européennes, créé en Italie, France, Angleterre, Espagne, Allemagne, etc. Manlius Boethius, donc, revient au premier plan comme l'une des sources les plus importantes de la nouvelle branche carolingienne et post-carolingienne de la tradition du savoir scientifique-philosophique à partir de l'an 782, l'année où Alcuus Eboricensis (Alcuin d'York, ca 730 -. Tours, 804), invité par Charlemagne, a pris ses nouvelles fonctions en tant *Praeceptor* de la *Schola Palatina* à Aachen, jusqu'à l'an 1154, l'année de la mort du dernier des grands *paeceptores* de la *Schola Carnotensis* (École de la Cathédrale de Chartres), c'est-à-dire Theodoricus Carnotensis seu Brito (Thierry de Chartres ou Thierry le Breton) •

**[3]** *In fine*, cet outil de recherche et de pédagogie cherche à montrer que l'œuvre de Manlius Boethius sur le canon des *sept arts libéraux*, complétée par ses cinq *Opuscula sacra*, son ultime traité *Consolatio Philosophiae*, et leurs multiples gloses et commentaires, a fourni un riche *humus* intellectuel, scientifique-philosophique, spirituel-ethique pour la création des *Studia generalia* ou *Uniuersitas magistrorum atque scholarium uel disciplulorum* [*discipularumque*] en Europe, dont les effets nourissants sont encore fortement ressentis, et dont les écoles et universités d'aujourd'hui ont toujours fortement besoin. Ainsi, grâce à cet ouvrage, nous pouvons mesurer avec un peu plus de précision l'influence déterminante qu'a eu l'œuvre de Manlius Boethius sur l'Unité culturelle européenne entre Alcuin d'York, Maître carolingien du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et Thierry de Chartres, Maître post-carolingien du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et c'est précisément cette Unité culturelle qui donna lieu à la naissance de l'université médiévale européenne •

**[4] Nota bene :** Cet ouvrage, *Boethius. His Influence on the European Unity of Culture: from Alcuin of York (†804) to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)*, de 237 pages, a été publié en 2010 par le Traugott Bautz Verlag, à Nordhausen en Allemagne: ISBN: 978-3-88309-603-2. Il comprend une Introduction avec Bibliographie (Boethius: *opera omnia* | Boethius: *Prosopography, Hagiography*), un Prologue, 12 chapitres, un Epilogue et 5 Appendices, notamment: Bibliographie (*Boethius and the Liberal Arts*), Index-Catalogue des manuscrits (128 manuscrits répertoriés), Index-Glossaire général, Index-Glossaire grec, Index des *Descriptiones* (Illustrations, Diagrammes, Figures, Tableaux). Parmi les Illustrations, on trouve deux glossaires de gloses boétiennes du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle en *notes tironiennes*, c'est-à-dire en sténographie latine [p. 15, p. 104], et un glossaire du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle de *notae sententiarum*, c'est-à-dire signes de renvoi ou signes d'annotation [p. 108-110], qui accompagnent les gloses boétiennes conservées dans une importante famille de manuscrits du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle contenant le traité Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*) • IH | ih • *Explicit* •

**ILLO HUMPHREY, PH. D. | HDR**

- <https://u-bordeaux3academia.edu/IlloHumphrey> •
- [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=754](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=754) •
- [illo.humphrey@free.fr](mailto:illo.humphrey@free.fr) • [illohumphrey01@gmail.com](mailto:illohumphrey01@gmail.com) •

*scripsi et subscripsi.*



• Deutsche Zusammenfassung •

**Illo Humphrey, Ph. D. | HDR**

• Mediävist | Musikwissenschaftler | Proto-Philologe •

**BOETHIUS.**

*His Influence on the European Unity of Culture:*

*from Alcuin of York (†804) to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)*

• Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH | Nordhausen | Deutschland | 2012 | 237 Seiten | 35 Euros •

• ISBN: 978-3-88309-603-2 •

• <http://bautz.de/neuerscheinungen-2010/9783883096032.html> •

[1] Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius (\*Rom, ca. 480 - †Pavia, ca. 524) war eine von den mächtigen Brücken der Generalkultur und Ausbildung zwischen dem europäischen Altertum und Mittelalter. Er war das ideale Sammelbecken (ή ύποδοχή | ή χώρα) der wissenschaftlichen und philosophischen Traditionen, die ihm vorangingen, und der ideale Behälter (τὸ ύποδοχεῖον | ή κρήνη) für die dreiunddreißig Generationen von Meistern und Schülern, die ihm nachfolgten. Angesichts der Qualität seiner Generalkultur und seiner Ausbildung bzw. seine *Humanitas*, und seine *Eruditio Institutioque in bonas artes*, Manlius Boethius kann als Vater des wissenschaftlichen und philosophischen Denkens des Abendlands im Mittelalter betrachtet werden. Noch mehr, seine Forschung hat der nachrömischen Zeit die Schlüssel des Verständnis der Substanz von wahren Ideen hintergelassen, bzw. die Hauptbegriffe: *animae generatio* (die Geburt der Seele und des Bewusstseins), *substantia numeri* (das Zahlenwesen), *principalitas unitatis* (das Primat der Zahl 1, das heißt die absolute Einheit), *continuo proportio superparticularis* (das Gesetz der Oktave), *sensuum perceptio et cognitio* (Sinneswahrnehmung und der kognitive Prozess), *summa bona* oder *quattuor uirtutes animae* (das höchste Gut, das heißt die weise Verwaltung der Glücklichkeit und des Leidens, der Gerechtigkeit und der Ungerechtigkeit), *decem categoriae* or *decem praedicamenta* (die zehn Kategorien), *quinque uoces* (die fünf Universalien). Allerdings war Boethius einer von den bedeutendsten Meistern, die an der Strukturierung der europäischen Kultureinheit teilgenommen haben, und sein Gesamtwerk wurde, ab dem Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts, eine unentbehrliche Quelle für die neue karolingische Bildungstradition, die, Dank Alkuin von York und seinen Genossen, bzw. die Scotti peregrini, zum europäischen Kontinent gebracht wurde. Die Lehre von Manlius Boethius wurde ab dem 9. Jahrhundert die grundsätzliche Quelle der karolingischen und ottonischen Schulprogramme •

[2] Diese rechtzeitige Veröffentlichung über Manlius Boethius ist allzugleich ein Text für Forscher und für Lehrer, bzw. für Labor und Hörsaal. Die Finalität dieser Forschung besteht darin, daß sie: (a) die Rolle erklärt, die das Leben, das Werk, die Glossen, die Kommentare, und auch die Erinnerung von Boethius in der Schöpfung der europäischen Kultureinheit gespielt haben, (b) den Einfluss von Boethius bei der Aufrechterhaltung von kognitiven Hygiene, im Rahmen der Zivilisationsverwaltung und Zivilisationsentwicklung, heraushebt, (c) den bedeutsamen Beitrag von Boethius bei der Geburt der *Studia generalia*, oder *Uniuersitas magistrorum atque scholarium uel discipulorum* |[discipularum], bzw.: die mittelalterliche Universität, betont, und schliesslich (d) daß dieses Buch deutlich zeigt, daß die Forschung und die Lehre von Boethius, sowie die Glossen und Kommentare über Boethius, die die Wissenschaft, die Philosophie, und die Ethik durch die Jahrhunderte ausgeführt haben, immer noch

heute im 21. Jahrhundert gültig und trefflich sind. Allerdings sollte man sich bewusst daran erinnern, dass der Boethiana-Corpus (Texte, Glossen, Kommentare) einen wesentlichen Teil des grundsätzlichen Forschungs- und Schulprogramms der zukünftigen mittelalterlichen Universität in Europa ausmachte, die, ab dem 12. Jahrhundert, die Hauptquelle des Kanons der Sieben Freien Künste, bzw.: Quadrivium (*ars arithmetica*• *ars musica*• *ars geometrica*• *ars astronomica*) und Trivium (*ars grammatica*• *ars dialectica*• *ars logica*• *ars rhetorica*), geworden ist •

[3] *In fine*, das Gesamtwerk von Manlius Boethius, bzw.: seine Traktate über *ars arithmetica*, *ars musica*, *ars dialectica uel logica*, seine fünf *Opuscula sacra*, sein letztes Meisterwerk *Consolatio Philosophiae*, seine Glossen, und auch die zahlreiche Kommentare davon, haben zuerst den europäischen *Studia generalia*, dann der *Universitas magistrorum atque scholarium uel discipulorum* [*discipularumque*], einen sehr reichen intellektuellen, wissenschaftlichen, philosophischen, ethischen und geistlichen Humus versorgt, dessen Wirkung immer noch deutlich gespürt werden kann, und immer noch sehr gebraucht wird. Es folgt daraus, daß die *Opera omnia* von Manlius Boethius und deren Kommentare, einen sehr bestimmenden Einfluss auf die europäische Kultureinheit ausgeübt hat, und zwar: ab dem karolingischen Meister Alkuin von York des 8. Jahrhunderts, bis zum ottonischen Meister Thierry von Chartres des 12. Jahrhunderts, und es war eben diese Kultureinheit, die die Entstehung der mittelalterlichen Universität in Europa veranlassen hat •

[4] **Nota bene:** Dies Werk: *Boethius. His Influence on the European Unity of Culture: from Alcuin of York (†804) to Thierry of Chartres (†1154)*, mit 237 Seiten, wurde in 2010 vom Traugott Bautz Verlag in Nordhausen, Deutschland veröffentlicht : ISBN: 978-3-88309-603-2. Das Buch enthält eine Einleitung mit Fachliteratur (Boethius: *Opera omnia* | Boethius: *Prosopographia*, Boethius: *Hagiographia*), ein Prolog, 12 Kapiteln, ein Epilog, und 5 Anhänge, bzw.: Fachliteratur (Boethius und die Sieben Freie Künste), Handschriftenkatalog (128 Handschriften), Wortverzeichnis-Glossar, Wortverzeichnis-Glossar (Griechisch), Tafelverzeichnis. Unter den verschiedenen Tafeln besteht zwei Tafeln von Boethius-Glossen aus dem 9. Jahrhundert in tironischen Noten (d. h. lateinische Kurzschrift, cf. Introduction, Seite 15, und Kapitel 5: Seite 104), und drei Tafeln von *notae sententiarum*, (d. h. Annotationszeichen, cf. Kapitel 5: Seiten 108-110), die zu den Boethiusglossen des Traktats Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque* in einer wichtigen Handschriftenfamilie aus dem neunten Jahrhundert gehören • IH | ih • *Explicit* •

**ILLO HUMPHREY, PH. D. | HDR**

- <https://u-bordeaux3.academia.edu/IllOHumphrey> •
- [http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page\\_id=754](http://www.colloquiaaquitana.com/?page_id=754) •
- [illo.humphrey@free.fr](mailto:illo.humphrey@free.fr) • [illohumphrey01@gmail.com](mailto:illohumphrey01@gmail.com) •

*scripsi et subscripsi.*

